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MOTIVATION AND ASPIRATION IN THE NEGRO COLLEGE.

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MICHIGAN UNIV., ANN ARBOR, SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER

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THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE CAREER CHOICES AND ASPIRATIONS OF STUDENTS ATTENDING SELECTED NEGRO COLLEGES IN THE SOUTH WERE STUDIED. OF MAJOR CONCERN WERE THE WAYS WHICH THE STUDENTS' SOCIAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUNDS, MOTIVATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS, INVOLVEMENTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS, AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES ENCOURAGE OR CONSTRAIN ALTERNATIVES IN MAKING CHOICES ABOUT THEIR FUTURES. THE INSTITUTIONS WERE SELECTED FOR PROVIDING WIDE DIVERSITIES IN PUBLIC-PRIVATE SPONSORSHIP, ACADEMIC STATUS, AND AMOUNT OF CONSTRAINT ON CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES. QUESTIONNAIRES WERE ADMINISTERED TO 4,000 STUDENTS AT 10 INSTITUTIONS. IN ADDITION, INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH 600 STUDENTS TO OBTAIN MORE INTENSIVE INFORMATION. DATA COLLECTED WERE ON SPECIFIC MEASURES OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION, CLASS BACKGROUND, FAMILY INFLUENCE, MOTIVATION, AND INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS. THE RESULTS INDICATED THAT (1) ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY TEACHING CAREERS WERE THE PREDOMINANT PROFESSIONAL CHOICE, (2) HIGH ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION AND SENSE OF PERSONAL CONTROL WERE POSITIVELY RELATED TO ASPIRATIONS FOR JOBS OF PRESTIGE, (3) REALISTIC ASPIRANTS (ABILITY MATCHED EQUALLY WITH LEVEL OF PERFORMANCE) WERE MORE LIKELY THAN UNDER- OR OVER-ASPIRANTS TO ATTRIBUTE THE FAILURE OF OTHER NEGROES TO PROBLEMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND (4) OVERALL DIFFERENCES EXISTED AMONG THE 10 SCHOOLS IN DEGREES OF STUDENT ASPIRATION. IMPLICATIONS WERE PRESENTED FOR EDUCATION, MOTIVATIONAL DYNAMICS (THE ROLE OF EXPECTANCIES AND VALUE-MOTIVE FACTORS), PERSONAL CONTROL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, SUCCESS FEEDBACK, PROGRAMED MATERIALS, GRADES AND HONORS DISTRIBUTION, AND SCHOOL, TEACHER, AND STUDENT ROLES. (RS)

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Patricia Corin and Daniel Katz

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The interest and cooperation of people at the participating schools have been exceptional. A field project such as this one is totally dependent on the assistance and guidance of persons in the field settings; rarely, in our experience, has the research process gone so well. We are aware that this reflects the genuine interest of the administrations, faculty, and students of these schools to learn as much as possible about the issues of motivation and aspiration. We hope, now that the research process has come to an end,

that the collaboration will have been as meaningful from the schools' points of view as from ours. At each of the schools there is at least one person, designated by the president of the college, who has worked with us very closely. They would be individually named if it were not for wanting to preserve the anonymity of the participating colleges. Special thanks go to each of them.

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Our appreciation is also extended to Miss Margaret Robison who served as the secretary of the project and was particularly helpful in the typing of this manuscript.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General Perspective of the Study

From the onset of the Negro student protest movement generated on the southern Negro campus, through the period of the increased tempo of the civil rights struggle and legal advances of the past few years, the predominantly Negro college has faced new questions and troubling issues. It has been caught in a social revolution, sometimes reluctantly, sometimes willingly and forcefully, but inevitably faced with the question of its educational significance and role in a changing social fabric.

Debate and controversy regarding what this role should be can be heard from many quarters. Some, accepting the basic structure of American society and responding to the promise of expanding opportunities for Negro youth, argue that the major educational task in the Negro college is the preparation of Negro students to participate in this society just as generations of white graduates have been able to do. They stress the traditional notion of academic excellence, the training of students to fill occupational roles that have only recently become available to Negro applicants, and the preparation of students to go on to graduate and professional schools in increasingly large numbers. Others reject this perspective and express a different hope for this generation of Negro students. They fear that a focus on preparation for expanding opportunities may lead the Negro colleges to define their roles too narrowly as occupational training centers. Beyond this, they question an orientation that so identifies the Negro's aspirations with those of the general society that the possibility of playing a unique role is lost. And at least some people in this group argue that the unique function of education

in the Negro college should be the encouragement of students to perform roles as social critics and contributors to the solution of pressing social issues. This perspective may over stress the social and political roles of Negro graduates; the former may over stress their participation in the economy, their strictly occupational roles.

Yet, despite the considerable differences in philosophy and judgments of society that are represented by these points of view, these voices merge in a common concern that the students in Negro colleges be prepared to act with choice. As all sorts of choices objectively increase for the graduates of these schools, most people would agree that a major goal in the predominantly Negro colleges is to enhance the capacities of students to choose; specifically:

- to help students recognize the choices they could make,
- to heighten their awareness of opportunities that exist and their potential for effecting change in the obstacles that persist,
- to encourage students to make decisions positively on the basis of personal predilections rather than on negative considerations of the constraints of exclusion or the fear of failure,
- to provide the skills and knowledge by which these students can face the fact of choice with self-confidence,
- and, perhaps most important of all, to present the notion that choice means the freedom to question the mores and conventions of society, to act to bring about a change in the structure of society, as well as the freedom to accept its basic premises and act so as to achieve the rewards it provides.

To help students in these ways, we need to be able to delineate what factors are currently operating in their lives to encourage and discourage the exercise of choice. In what ways do the students' social and family backgrounds, their motivational characteristics, their involvement in civil rights

activities, and their educational experiences encourage or constrain the alternatives they consider in making choices about their futures. This study, undertaken in 1964 in cooperation with ten predominantly Negro colleges in the Deep South, is concerned with these questions. It focuses particularly on the facilitating and constraining influences that operate on the choices these students are making regarding their future occupational roles. If particular background factors or motivational characteristics serve to restrict certain types of aspirations, knowledge of these constraints should be helpful in developing programs and providing college experiences that will diminish their negative impact. This knowledge could be used explicitly in occupational counseling to help students become aware of the choices they could make if it were not for such constraining influences. And, insofar as specific college experiences themselves seem to militate against this educational goal, it may be possible to change the college environment to provide experiences that will encourage the exercise of choice.

Content of This Report

This report focuses on the occupational aspirations of the students. Before turning, however, to some of the issues that are involved in the exercise of occupational choice, we will describe the student population in broader terms. Chapter II will provide a general description of the students' pre-college backgrounds, the influences that operated to bring them to college, what they are looking for in the college experience, and their educational aspirations. Of interest, also, are the ways the ten institutions differ regarding their students' backgrounds and orientations toward college.

In Chapter III, we will turn to the kinds of occupational decisions the students are making and to the question of whether these decisions reflect a problem of restriction in choice. On the basis of previous studies and reports of counselors in predominantly Negro colleges, one would expect

considerable restriction in the students' choices. However, by the fall of 1964, recruiters had begun their visits to these previously forgotten schools. Had the students' considerations and choices broadened? What kinds of occupations were they choosing? How might the problem of choice be characterized at that time?

Chapter IV is concerned with another aspect of the definition of the problem of choice. It has to do not with the students' own choices, but with how they evaluate a great variety of occupations. What occupations are attractive to them even if not chosen by large numbers of students? How do they view the occupational opportunity structure, the relative opportunities and obstacles of a large number of occupations? What do we learn about the problem of choice by getting a better picture of how occupations are perceived and evaluated by these students?

Chapter V takes up the question of sex differences in the meaning of occupational choice. On the basis of previous studies, one would expect Negro girls to exhibit higher aspirations than Negro boys. However, since most previous research is based on high school youth, it was not at all clear that the same picture would emerge with college youth. This chapter examines the pattern of sex differences in occupational aspirations at the college level. Does this pattern suggest any constraints on choice that might be tied primarily to sex-role considerations instead of obstacles shared in common by Negro males and females?

Chapter VI explores the question of how social class and family factors influence the choices of the students. Previous research indicates that class factors such as high parental education, high status jobs, and high family income serve to heighten the level of childrens' occupational aspirations. But most research treats level of occupational aspiration strictly in terms

of an implied dimension of the prestige of the job. Do these same parental characteristics enhance other dimensions of aspiration that may be increasingly important as opportunities expand for Negro youth? For instance, does social class affect aspiration for difficult jobs which demand high ability? Does it affect aspiration for jobs which were heretofore closed to Negroes, the unusual and nontraditional jobs? Or, is it possible that high status backgrounds serve to encourage certain kinds of choices but discourage others, perhaps restricting choice to conventional areas of achievement among Negroes?

Chapters VII and VIII are concerned with the psychological concomitants of choice, the motivational characteristics that are important in determining both the level and the realism of these students' occupational aspirations. The work of motivational theorists suggests that both level and realism of aspiration are positively affected by a strong need for achievement, low anxiety about failure, and a high expectancy of success in obtaining one's goals. But, again, very little is known about the ways these motivational characteristics might relate to dimensions of aspiration other than prestige. Most studies of level of aspiration in the occupational area have used the prestige of the aspired job to characterize high and low aspiration. Would these motivational characteristics also be helpful in explaining level of aspiration with respect to other qualities of occupations? Would they differentiate the students who are choosing occupations that are nontraditional and unusual for Negroes from those who may be high aspirants with respect to prestige but who are choosing quite traditional jobs? Another question guiding the motivational analyses is raised by the fact that the research on achievement motivation has been restricted almost exclusively to white college students, particularly white college males. It was problematic, therefore, whether the usual findings regarding the motivational determinants of

aspiration would be validated in a Negro college population. And, beyond this question is the more important issue of whether there are some psychological characteristics not normally used in studies of white students that would have motivational significance in this population. The usefulness of two such characteristics is explored in these chapters. One concerns the students' attitudes toward pioneering, toward being the first or only Negro in a variety of educational and occupational settings. The other has to do with their beliefs about the relative importance of discrimination and personal inadequacies in accounting for failure among Negroes.

Chapter IX is concerned with the issue of how choice is conditioned by the college the students attend. In addition to the question of whether there are overall differences among the ten institutions, this chapter also discusses the institutional characteristics that are associated with heightened levels of aspiration in certain of these institutions. It also examines the extent to which selectivity factors account for the institutional differences that are found. Finally, it explores institutional effects using the before-after measures collected on the freshmen in all of the schools.

Chapters X and XI provide a summary of the major results and a general discussion of their implications for education.

Design and Methods of the Study

Selection of the Schools

Since a major objective of the study was to examine different modes of institutional patterning of aspiration, the schools included in the study were chosen to provide a wide diversity of types of institutions. Three dimensions were used to select schools: public-private sponsorship, academic status, and

amount of constraint exercised by the school administration over participation in civil rights activities. Academic status was judged by an accrediting association. Two groups of schools were included: those considered by the association to be in its highest academic grouping and those with at least somewhat lower status, although still meeting basic accreditation requirements. Judgment of administrative constraint over civil rights participation was based on public evidence such as the firing of faculty, expulsion of students, or administrative directives given publicly to the students. By selecting four public and four private schools which were also judged to be high or low on these other two dimensions, eight types of institutions could be included in the study. Actually, ten schools which met the criteria for selection were asked to participate to cover the possibility that certain of these types of schools might refuse to participate or withdraw from the study. All ten schools agreed to participate and cooperated in all aspects of the study.

That this purposive selection of schools did result in quite different motivational climates is demonstrated by the fact that the ten institutions do differ markedly in their students' aspirations; furthermore, the dimensions used for selecting schools bear systematic relationships to the mean aspiration levels in the different schools. Of course, these ten schools vary in ways other than sponsorship, status, and position taken regarding student protest. Some of the other differences among these institutions and how they relate to aspiration levels in the schools are discussed in Chapter IX.

The fact that purposive instead of random selection procedures were used means that one cannot assume that the description of these schools or the student population can be generalized to all predominantly Negro colleges or to the students attending all such colleges. The description of the student population that is provided in Chapter II is given simply as an interpretative

backdrop for the subsequent relationships discussed in the report. It is there to help the reader understand the nature of the population for which the subsequent results were obtained.

It might be noted that the nature of our sample, which limits our ability to generalize to descriptive characteristics of the total student body attending predominantly Negro colleges, does not necessarily limit the generalizability of the study's findings on relationships among variables. Since the purposive nature of our sample has served to provide a very heterogeneous study population, it maximizes rather than minimizes the generalizability of the relationships obtained.

Design

The design of the study was both cross-sectional and longitudinal in nature. In the cross-sectional aspect of the study, questionnaires were administered to all students attending the ten colleges. These questionnaires were then sampled randomly, within sex and class groups at each institution, to provide an analysis sample of 50 males and 50 females from each class level at each institution, altogether 2,000 males and 2,000 females. The data from these 4,000 questionnaires were coded and analyzed. Interviews were also conducted with 200 students at each of three schools. They provide more intensive information about some of the motivational issues and college experiences that were examined in the questionnaires.

An additional random sample of approximately 950 students was asked to participate in another aspect of the cross-sectional study. This special substudy, which was concerned with the way students judge a number of occupations, was conducted several months after all of the students in the colleges had been administered the major battery of questionnaires. The list of occupations that was evaluated by this special sample included all of the

occupations given as their own choices by at least one percent of the students in the earlier questionnaires. This meant that we obtained peer judgments of almost all of the occupations actually chosen by students in the general study. As described more fully in Chapter IV, these peer judgments were then used to score the students' occupational choices on several different dimensions of aspiration.

The longitudinal aspect of the design involved only the freshmen students. The freshmen at all ten institutions were measured at the time of entering college and again at the end of the freshman year. This before-after aspect of the study is particularly helpful in exploring the effects of the different institutions since it allows a comparison of student outcomes among the ten schools, controlling for initial differences.

Methods

As already indicated, the methods of data collection included both questionnaires and interviews. The specific measures of occupational aspirations, class background, family influence patterns, motivational characteristics, and institutional characteristics will be described in the succeeding chapters as analyses using the measures are discussed.

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CHAPTER II

WHO ARE THE STUDENTS ATTENDING THESE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES?

This study was not designed as a comparative study. It was deliberately not focused on the question of similarities and differences between this population of southern college students and a comparison group attending white colleges. Instead of comparison, its task was to explain as much as possible about the variation in the goals and aspirations of the Negro students themselves. Why do some students hold higher aspirations than others? Why are some students more realistic in their aspirations than others? To what extent is this variation in aspiration a function of their backgrounds, their motivational characteristics, their social experiences? Does the variation have anything to do with the nature of the colleges they are attending?

This focus does not imply that comparative studies are unimportant. But considerably more research attention has been given to the task of comparison than to the task of explanation within a Negro population itself. We know more (albeit very little) about Negro-white mean group differences (and similarities) in motivation, aspiration, and performance than we know about the motivational dynamics of Negro youth.¹ Practically all of the studies examining the complicated relationships between motivation and aspiration or motivation and performance have been restricted to white samples. So, without

¹See particularly Dreger and Miller (1960) for a summary of the comparison studies of the personality characteristics of Negroes and whites. See Pettigrew (1964) for an evaluative summary of the studies comparing the measured intelligence of Negroes and whites. See Lott and Lott (1963) for a recent study of the motivations and aspirations of Negro and white youth in a southern-border state. The Lotts' study provides a description of mean group differences on many motivational-personality characteristics but it does not examine the interrelationships of these characteristics or how they relate to the goals and aspirations of the two groups.

minimizing the importance and need for more comparative studies,² this study has focused on the variance to be explained among the students attending these predominantly Negro colleges. And the variance is quite considerable. In almost every way, this is a markedly heterogeneous student population. It is true that they have almost all grown up in the Deep South and are attending colleges in Deep South states. But, apart from their southern origins and experience, they vary in most other ways.

In the other chapters of this report, we will be concerned with the variation in these students' occupational aspirations. This chapter describes the population in broader terms - their backgrounds, their social experiences, the influences that operated in bringing them to college, their educational goals and expectations. It illustrates the heterogeneity of the population, particularly the heterogeneity that is represented by the ten institutions included in the study.

Their Class and Family Backgrounds

Family Incomes

On the whole, this is a population that comes from relatively deprived economic conditions - at least for a population attending college. Using student reports of family incomes,³ 30 percent of these students come from

² Indeed, the results of research on differences between the educational and occupational aspirations of white and Negro youth are characterized by marked contradictions, some showing Negro youth with higher aspirations and some with lower aspirations than white youth of comparable class backgrounds. Thus, much remains to be done in carefully controlled comparison studies themselves. But the contradictions cannot be resolved without more attention to the determinants of aspirations within Negro as well as white samples. It is time to focus on motivational dynamics within each of the two groups in order better to understand the mean group differences.

³ We were concerned about the validity of using student reports of family income. Apart from the fact that a small group (approximately six percent) of the students did not report income information, we were also concerned about how much they would know about family income and about a possible tendency to distort income figures, probably in an upward direction. It was possible, however, to use information from the 1960 census to obtain an

what Harrington (1962) and others define as poverty conditions - less than \$3,600 annual income for a family of four. (See Table 1.) This is three times as many students from poverty conditions as would be found in a national population of young people in college. (Lansing, Lorimer and Moriguchi, 1960) Furthermore, using the student reports, which give a more optimistic picture of family income than our own estimate based on knowledge of their parents' occupations, only 16 percent of these students come from families with incomes of \$10,000 or more per year.

Apart from the fact that this is a population with lower incomes than we would expect to find in a college population, there is also the question of how these students' families compare with the national population of nonwhite

objective measure that could serve as a check on student reports. The 1960 census gives, state by state, the median nonwhite family income based on the occupation of the head of the family. From this information, we could estimate each student's family income according to what we know about where he lives, his parents' occupations, and their work history during the year preceding the study.

As expected, the census-based estimate is somewhat more conservative than the student estimates of family income. Using the census estimate, the median family income of the whole population is \$3,000. Using the student reports, it is approximately \$5,200. There is some evidence, however, that this difference simply reflects a constant tendency on the part of all students to report slightly higher incomes than the census estimate would suggest. We not only found that the census estimate was positively correlated with the students' estimates, but also that the two income measures related in a similar way to other demographic data such as parents' education, number of people contributing to family income, etc. It looks as though either income estimate would result in the same people being grouped in ordered income categories, though the median income in each of the ordinal groups would differ depending on which estimate was used.

Evidence of the validity of the student reports is also seen in the fact that the one group for whom we could not estimate family income using the census materials, the families where neither parent was employed, seemed to be accurately placed in the student data. Ninety-five percent of these families where no one was employed fell below \$2,400 annual income using the students' own reports of family income. We felt more comfortable, therefore, about using the students' self-reports as measures of family income, though we assume that the actual income figures would lie somewhere between the more optimistic student estimate and the more conservative census estimate.

TABLE II-1
Family Incomes of Students in the Ten Institutions¹

<u>Total Family Income According to Student Estimates</u>	<u>Institutions</u>										<u>Total Population</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	
Less than \$2,400 per year	20%	11%	8%	14%	17%	32%	10%	15%	13%	11%	16%
\$2,400 to \$3,599	15	16	10	18	10	15	17	12	15	10	14
\$3,600 to \$5,999	30	30	21	30	27	25	29	27	26	34	28
\$6,000 or more	35	43	61	38	46	28	44	46	46	45	42
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .235

¹The N in each school is approximately 400, the total N approximately 4,000. The table is based on student reports of family income.

Median family income of this population: \$5,200 (according to student estimates)
\$3,000 (according to our census-based estimate)

Median income of all nonwhite families in the U.S. in 1964: \$3,724

Median income of all nonwhite families in the south in 1964: \$2,888

Source for national and southern nonwhite figures: Population Characteristics, Negro Population: March 1965, Series I-20, No. 145, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, December 1965, p. 4.

families and particularly with nonwhite families in the south. This question is a little difficult to answer because of the problems involved in comparing the available estimates of these students' family incomes with figures based on information obtained by the Census Bureau from heads of households themselves. We should be cautious about comparisons that depend on an accurate estimate of the median income of these students' families, since that figure may vary anywhere from \$5,200, using the students' own estimates, to \$3,000, using the estimate based on data about the parents' occupations and state of residence. But even with the range provided by these two estimates, it seems safe to conclude that these students come from families with somewhat higher incomes than the median reported for all nonwhite families in the Deep South, although not necessarily higher than the national population of nonwhite families. (See Table 1 for these comparisons.)

What can be said with confidence with respect to family income of the students is that the ten institutions included in the study differ markedly. The estimation problem does not affect the comparisons within this student population. And it is clear that these ten schools are not homogeneous with respect to their students' economic backgrounds. For instance, in one school, nearly half of the students come from "poverty" backgrounds while only 18 percent come from such backgrounds in the most affluent school. Of course, these are the two most extreme institutions, but there is also considerable variation between these two extremes. (See Table 1.)

Parental Education

Both the mothers and the fathers of this college population have attained higher education than either the national or southern nonwhite adult populations. (See Table 2.) But, despite the higher education in this population than in these two comparison groups, considerable intergenerational mobility is still represented by the comparison of the education of these college

TABLE II-2

Comparison of the Educational Attainments of the Parents of This College Population
With That of all Nonwhite Males and Females (25 Years and Older) and Nonwhites in the South

Amount of Education	Males			Females		
	Fathers in This Population	All Nonwhite Males	Nonwhite Males in the South	Mothers in This Population	All Nonwhite Females	Nonwhite Females in the South
Grade school or less	36%	53%	62%	23%	48%	60%
Some high school	21	20	19	24	24	20
High school graduation	21	17	12	25	19	12
Some college	7	5	3	8	5	3
College degree or more	15	5	4	20	4	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source for the national and southern education figures for nonwhites: Population Characteristics, Negro Population: March 1965, Series P-20, No. 145, December, 1965, p. 3.

students and their parents. Only about a quarter of the parents have had any college education and approximately half of them have not graduated from high school.

Another characteristic of interest in this college population is the fact that the mothers have somewhat higher education than the fathers. This is particularly noted at the lower end of the education scale where only 23 percent of the mothers but 36 percent of the fathers have completed no more than eight years of school. This is a somewhat greater sex differential in educational attainments than is found in either the national or southern nonwhite comparison groups.

As a whole, then, these students come from parents with relatively high education for a nonwhite population. Nevertheless, they by no means come from a dominantly college-educated background. Their mothers tend to be somewhat better educated than their fathers, although this difference is seen primarily in the proportion with less than high school education.

As in the case of family income, however, the general description of this population as a whole does not characterize all of the institutions. One of the striking facts about parental education is the great variation across these ten institutions. For instance, in two of the schools considerably more, and in two others somewhat more, than a quarter of the parents have had some college education. In fact, in one school over half of the parents went to college and nearly a half of these did some post-graduate work beyond the college degree. The institutions also differ in the relative educational attainments of the mothers and fathers. Although the mothers in all of the schools have had somewhat more education than the fathers, this is less true in four schools than in the other six. (See Tables 3 and 4 for institutional comparisons of the parents' education.)

TABLE II-3

Amount of Education Attained by Fathers of Students in the Ten Institutions

Amount of Education	Institutions										All Fathers in This Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Grade school or less	41%	32%	21%	40%	32%	46%	35%	30%	39%	31%	36%
Some high school	25	26	14	18	16	26	20	16	27	15	21
High school graduation	18	26	16	22	22	17	23	27	17	26	21
Some college	5	6	7	5	9	4	9	9	6	6	7
College degree	7	6	21	10	7	4	7	11	6	10	8
Post-graduate work	4	4	21	5	14	3	6	7	5	12	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

 χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .29

TABLE II-4

Amount of Education Attained by Mothers of Students in the Ten Institutions

Amount of Education	Institutions										All Mothers in This Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Grade school or less	25%	22%	13%	30%	13%	30%	20%	10%	25%	20%	23%
Some high school	32	25	10	20	18	35	20	20	26	17	24
High school graduation	21	30	18	22	26	18	29	29	27	24	25
Some college	9	9	13	5	13	5	12	9	6	9	8
College degree	10	10	23	19	23	10	13	22	10	20	14
Post-graduate work	3	4	23	4	7	2	6	10	6	10	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

 χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .33

Employment and Occupational Status of the Parents

Almost all of the fathers who are living are also employed; furthermore, although the students may not be completely accurate about their fathers' work intentions, they report that most of those who are not working are either retired or "unable to work" rather than unemployed in the sense of "seeking a job." (See Table 5.) What may be more interesting than this picture of the father's employment status is the fact that so many of the mothers in this population are also employed. Approximately three-fifths of all the mothers have jobs outside the home. (See Table 5.) It is somewhat surprising, however, that whether the mother works or not is unrelated to the level of the family's income. Instead, the rate of female employment is fairly comparable across the various income groups. There is a difference, however, in the economic function provided by the mother's employment in the different income groups. In almost all cases, the income provided by working mothers in the "poverty" families represents the family's only source of income. In contrast, over half of the working mothers in the most affluent income group are supplementing the income that is provided by their husband's employment.⁴

The comparison of the occupations of the employed parents in this population with those of all employed nonwhites in the nation and in the southern states parallels what we have already noted in the education comparisons. Just as these students' parents are better educated than the nonwhite comparison groups, they also hold occupations of somewhat higher status. (See Table 6.) Nevertheless, a large majority of these students come from families in which both the mothers and fathers have working-class rather than middle-class occupations.

⁴See Gurin and Epps (1966) for further discussion of this issue.

TABLE II-5

Living and Employment Status of the Parents of the Students in the Ten Institutions

Fathers' Status	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Deceased	14%	10%	10%	13%	10%	16%	14%	13%	15%	13%	13%
Living and currently employed	79	79	80	77	77	68	75	77	78	80	77
Living but either retired or unable to work	6	10	9	9	12	11	10	10	6	6	9
Living and unemployed in the sense of seeking work	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	-	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Mothers' Status</u>											
Deceased	5%	3%	2%	4%	2%	4%	3%	5%	2%	2%	3%
Living and currently employed	58	59	74	61	63	40	56	57	63	64	58
Living but a housewife not seeking work	27	30	18	25	25	36	30	27	23	25	27
Living but unable to work	7	6	4	8	8	14	8	8	10	7	9
Living and unemployed in the sense of seeking work	3	2	2	2	2	6	3	2	2	2	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE II-6

Comparisons of the Occupations of the Employed Parents in This College Population With Those of all Employed Nonwhite Males and Females in the National Population and in the South

	Males			Females		
	Employed Fathers in This Population	All Employed Nonwhite Males	Employed Nonwhite Males in the South	Employed Mothers in This Population	All Employed Nonwhite Females	Employed Nonwhite Females in the South
Professional, technical and kindred workers	12%	5%	4%	29%	9%	11%
Managers, officials and proprietors	8	3	2	3	2	1
Clerical, sales and kindred workers	5	7	4	7	13	7
Craftsmen, foremen	15	11	8	3	1	1
Operatives and kindred workers	21	28	26	7	15	8
Laborers (except farm)	14	22	27	2	1	1
Service workers and military	13	16	15	47	57	68
Farmers: managers, owners and laborers	12	8	14	2	2	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source for the national and southern occupational figures for nonwhites: Population Characteristics, Negro Population: March 1965, Series P-20, No. 155, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, September, 1966, p. 27.

Looking at a finer breakdown of the parents' occupations (see Tables 7 and 8), it might be noted first that twice as many of the mothers as the fathers are professionally employed. Although the disparity between the parents is not quite as great in some institutions as in others, it exists in all schools. On the average, about a quarter of the mothers are in some kind of profession. Of course, the proportion varies in the ten schools. In several schools, considerably fewer than a quarter of the mothers are employed in these high status jobs while in one school nearly half of the mothers are professionally employed, almost all as primary or secondary school teachers. Similarly, the proportion of fathers with professional jobs varies considerably in the ten schools. Although 12 percent of the total population of fathers are professionally employed, many more than this have high status positions in some of the schools.

Very few of the parents in any of the schools hold jobs in the business world. Furthermore, almost all of those who are in business function as self-employed owners rather than in managerial positions. This is not surprising, given the national picture of Negro employment in managerial-executive positions. According to the 1960 census, less than two percent of all business administrators and less than one percent of all office managers in large concerns are Negroes.

As already mentioned, the modal occupations for both the mothers and fathers are in relatively low-status categories - operatives, unskilled workers, farm laborers, and service workers. Nearly half of both the mothers and fathers are engaged in these kinds of jobs. With the fathers, the jobs are spread across these categories. With the mothers, most of the jobs fall in the service category although they are about equally distributed between private household work and other service jobs (such as waitresses, cooks, maids in hotels, etc). But just as the institutions vary in the proportion

TABLE II-7

Occupational Status of all Employed Fathers of Students Attending the Ten Institutions

Standard Census Classification of Father's Job	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
<u>Professional</u>											
Physicians, dentists	1%	-	2%	-	1%	-	2%	1%	-	1%	1%
Other medical	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Primary or secondary teachers	4	6	15	6	13	4	4	7	5	9	6
College teachers	-	1	4	2	3	1	1	-	-	1	1
Architects, scientists	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Technicians	2	-	4	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	1
Public advisors, clergy, social workers	1	1	6	4	4	4	3	2	1	4	3
Lawyers	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
	(8%)	(8%)	(33%)	(15%)	(25%)	(9%)	(10%)	(12%)	(7%)	(18%)	(12%)
<u>Managers, Officials</u>											
Non-self-employed managers	2	2	8	2	2	-	2	3	1	3	2
Self-employed business	7	8	4	5	6	1	6	7	7	5	5
Self-employed artisans or craftsmen	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	2	2	1
	(11%)	(10%)	(12%)	(7%)	(10%)	(2%)	(8%)	(12%)	(10%)	(10%)	(8%)
<u>Clerical & Kindred Workers</u>	2	4	6	2	3	2	7	4	4	7	4
<u>Sales Workers</u>	2	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
<u>Foremen & Supervisors</u>	3	4	2	4	2	2	5	3	4	2	3
<u>Other Craftsmen</u>	12	9	11	17	12	7	9	12	15	11	12
<u>Operatives</u>											
In factories	14	5	7	14	7	16	12	15	12	9	12
In transportation	9	9	2	6	3	6	6	4	5	3	6
Other	2	4	1	2	1	1	7	3	2	4	3
	(25%)	(18%)	(10%)	(22%)	(11%)	(23%)	(25%)	(22%)	(19%)	(16%)	(21%)

<u>Laborers</u>											
Unskilled nonfarm											
Farm	15	17	7	10	15	17	19	15	9	16	14
	1	4	-	-	1	4	-	2	2	1	2
	(16%)	(21%)	(7%)	(10%)	(16%)	(21%)	(19%)	(17%)	(11%)	(17%)	(16%)
<u>Service Workers</u>											
Private household											
Other: waiters, orderlies,	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	1
barbers, cooks, etc	9	16	11	8	11	6	13	9	8	13	11
	(10%)	(16%)	(12%)	(9%)	(12%)	(6%)	(13%)	(10%)	(8%)	(14%)	(12%)
<u>Farmers</u>											
Owners and managers											
Tenant farmers,	5	3	1	2	2	12	-	2	6	2	4
sharecroppers	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	2	-	1
Farmers, NA what type	5	3	-	7	6	13	1	2	11	1	5
	(11%)	(6%)	(2%)	(10%)	(8%)	(26%)	(1%)	(5%)	(19%)	(3%)	(10%)
<u>Armed Services</u>											
Enlisted man	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	1
Officer	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
		(3%)	(2%)	(2%)		(1%)	(1%)	(2%)	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

North-Hatt Prestige
Score of Father's Job

Average score (range 09
to 93, high scores =
high prestige)

56.2 57.8 65.4 59.6 60.7 54.9 59.2 58.8 57.8 60.4

F significant beyond .001

TABLE II-8

Occupational Status of All Employed Mothers of Students Attending the Ten Institutions

Standard Census Classification of Mother's Job	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
<u>Professional</u>											
Physicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other medical	3	3	4	3	1	2	4	4	1	3	3
Primary or secondary teachers	16	14	43	24	39	22	24	25	14	31	23
College teachers	-	-	3	1	2	-	1	1	-	1	1
Architects, scientists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technicians	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	3	2	1
Public advisors	-	-	3	-	1	-	3	-	1	2	1
Lawyers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(21%)	(17%)	(54%)	(29%)	(44%)	(24%)	(32%)	(31%)	(19%)	(39%)	(29%)
<u>Managers, Officials</u>											
Non-self-employed managers	2	1	1	3	-	2	1	1	1	1	1
Self-employed business	2	1	3	1	1	-	2	1	1	2	2
Self-employed artisans, craftsmen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(4%)	(2%)	(4%)	(4%)	(1%)	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)	(2%)	(3%)	(3%)
<u>Clerical & Kindred Workers</u>											
Sales Workers	4	5	8	4	4	2	7	4	6	3	5
Foremen & Supervisors	2	3	3	2	4	-	2	4	2	2	2
Other Craftsmen	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	1
Operatives	1	2	3	3	4	2	4	1	3	1	2
In factories	8	4	1	6	3	2	5	4	10	3	5
In transportation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	6	2	-	1	1	-	1	3	4	2	2
	(14%)	(6%)	(1%)	(7%)	(4%)	(2%)	(6%)	(7%)	(14%)	(5%)	(7%)

<u>Laborers</u>													
Unskilled nonfarm													
Farm laborers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
	1	1	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	2	2	1
	(2%)	(2%)	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)	(9%)	(2%)	(2%)	(2%)	(4%)	(3%)	(3%)
<u>Service Workers</u>													
Private household													
Other	27	29	5	27	15	23	21	26	26	27	26	27	24
	23	34	20	20	22	31	21	22	19	17	19	17	23
	(50%)	(63%)	(25%)	(47%)	(37%)	(55%)	(42%)	(48%)	(45%)	(44%)	(45%)	(44%)	(47%)
<u>Farmers</u>													
Owners and managers													
Tenants	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Farmers, NA what type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
	1	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	1
	(2%)	-	(1%)	(2%)	-	(4%)	-	-	(4%)	-	(4%)	-	(1%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

North-Hatt Prestige
Score of Mother's Job

Average score (range 04
to 83, high scores =
high prestige)

57.5 56.7 68.3 59.7 64.9 57.3 60.7 59.9 55.9 61.6

of parents who are professionally employed, they also vary in the proportion engaged in these lower status jobs. The widest differences appear in the proportion of mothers employed in these kinds of jobs; the variation with respect to the fathers is somewhat smaller.

In summary, then, this is a population with a high proportion of employed mothers as well as fathers. And, although it is true that these parents have higher status jobs than either the national or southern population of employed nonwhites, still the majority of them are engaged in relatively low status occupations. However, this description of the total population characterizes certain institutions much better than others. As is true with family income and parental education, the ten institutions differ markedly in the classification of the parents' occupations.

Family Structure

A number of questions were asked about the structures of the families in which these students grew up. The students were asked whether their parents were currently living together, who reared them during their early years of life, with whom they lived during high school, and who was the main breadwinner in their families. The intercorrelations of responses to these questions are very high. The description of the students' family structures can be illustrated by responses to the question of who was responsible for rearing them during their early years of life.

Two characteristics of the students' families should be noted. First, they are very similar to those in the general nonwhite population. Approximately three-quarters of these students' families, as well as the families⁵

⁵This three-quarters proportion refers to nonwhite households with children. When all nonwhite households, those without as well as with children, are considered, only 58 percent in the nation and 60 percent in the south include both the husband and wife living in the household.

TABLE II-9
Intactness of the Families of Students Attending the Ten Institutions

Self Report of Students Regarding Who Reared Them	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Both parents	78%	72%	81%	75%	76%	76%	73%	67%	79%	79%	75%
Mother alone or with other females	12	18	13	15	18	13	20	20	14	15	16
Any persons other than the above	10	10	6	10	6	11	7	13	7	6	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .12

The proportion of all nonwhite families that are intact (husband and wife both present) is 72 percent; the proportion of nonwhite families in the south that are intact is 73 percent. (Source: Population Characteristics, Negro Population: March 1965, Series P-20, No. 155, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, September 1966, p. 23.)

in the national and southern nonwhite comparison groups, are intact.⁶ (See Table 9.) Secondly, although there are significant differences among the institutions with respect to the proportion of their students who were reared by both of their parents, these differences are small. (See Table 9.) So, in this respect, this is a fairly homogeneous population - most of the students in all of the institutions have had the experience of growing up in intact homes.

Their Social Experiences

This student population is homogeneously southern in origin. Ninety-four percent of the students grew up in Deep South states and 90 percent of them have never moved out of the states in which they were born. Obviously, there is little possibility of institutional variation when such a large proportion of the students grew up in the south; indeed, this is one of the ways in which the institutions do not differ. (See Tables 10 and 11.)

This means that few students in any of the colleges have had much experience outside the Deep South apart from that which might be provided by travel. And, looking at the total population, only 40 percent of the students report traveling outside the south more than a "few times." Although there is some institutional variation, it could be said that the students in all of the institutions have had relatively restricted social experiences. (See Table 12.) They are dominantly southern in origin, have lived most of their lives in only one state in the south, and only a small proportion have traveled very extensively outside the south.

⁶Since this is a population of children rather than families, the comparisons given in Table 9 are not based on exactly the same units. On the other hand, since very few siblings are in the study sample, most of the students do represent separate family units.

TABLE II-10
Region of the Home Residences of Students in the Ten Institutions

Region	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Deep South states	91.5%	95.5%	90.3%	97.1%	93.1%	98.4%	96.0%	91.5%	91.7%	94.7%	94.3%
Border states	.8	-	2.6	.3	2.5	.3	1.2	2.0	1.4	-	.9
Northeastern states	4.6	3.5	2.6	2.3	1.9	-	1.2	3.7	5.3	2.5	2.8
North central states	2.8	1.0	4.0	.3	2.5	1.0	1.4	2.3	1.0	1.3	1.6
Western states	.3	-	.5	-	-	.3	.3	.5	.6	1.5	.4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 not significant

TABLE II-11

Type of Geographical Mobility the Students in the
Ten Institutions Had Experienced Before Coming To College

<u>Type of Movement Students Had Ever Experienced Before Coming To College</u>	<u>Institutions</u>										<u>Total Population</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	
Always lived in state of current residence	91.5%	88.6%	90.0%	90.7%	86.9%	93.4%	91.7%	90.3%	87.2%	91.1%	90.4%
Moved to some other state within the Deep South	6.0	9.5	6.2	5.9	9.5	4.8	6.2	5.9	7.8	6.1	6.7
Moved from Deep South to border or northern state	1.1	.8	2.8	2.1	1.0	1.5	.9	1.9	2.9	.6	1.5
Moved from either border or northern state to Deep South	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.3	2.6	.3	1.2	1.3	1.8	2.2	1.3
Moved within border or northern states	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	.6	.3	-	.1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 not significant

TABLE II-12

Travel Experiences of Students in the Ten Institutions

Self-report of how Often Students Have Traveled Outside the South	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Never	12%	25%	12%	9%	14%	26%	28%	18%	8%	16%	17%
Once or twice	13	20	16	17	18	11	22	13	10	22	17
A few times	27	22	25	26	28	25	23	28	32	25	26
Often	48	33	47	48	40	30	27	41	50	37	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001
C = .24

None	12%	12%	9%	8%	9%	16%	14%	7%	9%	8%	11%
One	14	17	9	17	15	17	16	10	15	10	14
Two to five	53	49	47	57	47	52	51	54	54	57	53
Six or more	21	22	35	18	29	15	19	29	22	25	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001
C = .23

Number of States the
Students Report Having
Spent at Least One Week
in Since They Were Six
Years Old

The institutions do differ, however, in two other student demographic characteristics which imply some variation in the kinds of social experiences the students may encounter on the college campus itself. These have to do with the heterogeneity of rural and urban students and the proportion of out-of-state students on the campus. Those colleges with a mix of rural-urban backgrounds and relatively large number of out-of-state students may provide their students with some heterogeneity of experience despite their common southern origins and limited travel experiences. At least the students in such schools may encounter somewhat different perspectives on the campus by interacting with students from different states and from the urban as well as the rural south.

The range of rural-urban backgrounds represented in these ten schools is very great. In the schools with the most rural student body over half of the students come from farms or villages of less than 2,500 population, while in the two least rural schools less than ten percent of the students come from such backgrounds. (See Table 13.) Conversely, the institutions differ markedly in the proportion of their students whose homes are in cities of 50,000 or more population. Although somewhat over a third of the total population are from such urban settings, the range, as represented by the two most extreme schools, is four percent in the least urban school and 74 percent in the most urban. Altogether, there are, among these ten institutions, two schools with highly urban student bodies, one with an extremely rural population, and two others with predominantly rural populations. The other five have a greater mixture of rural and urban students. So, at least in this one respect, these five schools may provide their students with greater heterogeneity of experience than the dominantly rural or dominantly urban schools.

Similarly, some schools have larger numbers of out-of-state students than do others. In three of the schools at least half of the student body is

TABLE II-13

Rural-Urban Characteristics of the Homes of the Students in the Ten Institutions

Rural-Urban ¹ Characteristics	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
A farm	27%	6%	4%	19%	15%	46%	2%	10%	25%	8%	17%
Rural nonfarm (village of less than 2,500 pop.)	8	8	4	14	11	12	5	18	16	7	11
Town (2,500 to 9,999 population)	17	22	9	18	15	14	6	13	11	13	14
Small city (10,000 to 49,999 population)	13	27	26	23	25	24	13	22	16	22	21
Medium city (50,000 to 99,999 population)	17	9	8	20	7	2	5	5	19	13	11
City or suburbs of city with 100,000 to 249,999 population	6	14	18	3	20	1	7	13	7	18	10
City or suburbs of city of 250,000 or larger population	12	14	31	3	7	1	62	19	6	19	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .53

¹The students' self-reports were accepted for "farm and rural nonfarm." All other home towns were checked in census materials or, if not found there, in the world almanac. Any home town which was not codable through these procedures was considered to be smaller than 2,500 and coded as "rural nonfarm."

TABLE II-14

Proportion of Students in the Ten Institutions Whose State
of Residence is the Same as the State in Which the College is Located

	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Attending college in same state as home residence	83%	91%	37%	94%	88%	96%	69%	51%	84%	41%	76%
Attending an out-of- state college	17	9	63	6	12	4	31	49	16	59	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .43

composed of out-of-state students, while in three others less than ten percent are out-of-state students. (See Table 14.)

A final issue concerning the students' social experiences has to do with their civil rights involvements during the two or three years prior to the study. Civil rights involvement can be looked at as an ideological-political expression of the students. It can also be viewed as an experience that may broaden the students' perspectives and contact with the world outside their own home communities. Even when civil rights activities took place in their own home communities, they very often meant contact with "outsiders" and new points of view. But only a few students had had much involvement up to the fall of 1964. Altogether, about four-fifths of the population reported that they had not participated in any civil rights activities. (See Table 15.) The institutions do differ considerably, however. Only 14 percent of the students in one school had participated while in three others as many as two-thirds of the students had been involved to some extent.

The Processes by Which They Decided To Attend College

The issue of how these students got to college is highlighted by the fact that they come from somewhat more economically deprived backgrounds than is true of a national population of young people in college. If one's conception of this college population were guided by what the national college population looks like in terms of economic background, a large number of these students would not be in college at all. Yet they are. How did they decide to go to college? What are the channels and influences that were important in turning their hopes into realities?

First of all, the hope to go to college was there at an early age in large numbers of these students. Although there are institutional differences, over half of the students in all of the schools recall thinking about wanting

TABLE II-15

Civil Rights Involvement of Students in the Ten Institutions up to the Fall of 1964

Amount of Involvement in Previous Two or Three Years	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
No involvement at all	63%	52%	37%	34%	57%	86%	62%	68%	34%	52%	56%
Member of a group but no activities of any sort mentioned	4	2	2	5	1	2	2	1	3	6	3
Participation in one event	10	20	20	20	10	3	17	10	17	11	14
Participation in several events but no indication of ever having been in jail	21	20	35	32	20	9	13	19	30	25	21
Participation in several events plus specific mention of having been in jail	1	2	3	8	1	1	1	-	3	1	2
Participation over a long period of time and indication of some leadership responsibility	1	4	3	1	11	1	5	2	13	5	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

 χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .25

to go to college as early as the grade school years. Of course, fewer students say they were certain they would go to college as early as that. A third of the total population, and in some schools as many as half of the student body, did not make the definite decision about college until the senior year in high school. This means that even though the idea of college existed for these students for quite a long time, many of them, and in some schools most of them, were still uncertain whether they actually could go to college until very late in the high school career. (See Table 16.)

One of the influences that may operate differentially for the students in these ten institutions, given the institutional variation in the students' family incomes, is the kind of economic assistance they have for meeting the costs of college. The students were asked to specify how much of their total tuition and living costs was being paid by their parents or other relatives, loans, scholarships, and summer or part-time work during the school year.⁷ Although the parents or other relatives are the most important resource in all but one of the institutions, they are considerably more important in certain institutions than in others. (See Table 17.) In five schools, for instance, they are three times as important as any other resource. In the institutions where the parents are not this overwhelmingly important, the next most important economic resource tends to be loans. In fact, in one institution, loans play a more important role for more students than even the parents do. Generally, scholarships are less important than loans, although there is some institutional variation in the importance of scholarships relative to these other resources. Part-time work is the least important of

⁷ A small proportion of students in each of the institutions checked more than one of these sources as contributing "more than half" of their support. Nevertheless, since the proportion doing this is fairly constant in the ten schools, this question can still be used to indicate the relative importance of these different economic resources in the ten institutions.

TABLE II-16

Time at Which the Freshmen¹ in the Ten Institutions
First Considered and Finally Decided To Go To College

Time at Which Students First Began Thinking They Would Like To Go To College	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
As far back as they can remember	33%	46%	42%	37%	50%	33%	45%	36%	40%	52%	41%
During grade school years	20	22	36	27	27	24	25	29	25	24	25
During first few years of high school	29	23	18	26	18	29	25	27	26	19	25
During senior year of high school	12	7	2	8	4	11	3	8	7	4	7
Sometime <u>after</u> high school graduation	6	2	2	2	1	3	2	-	2	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	χ^2 significant beyond .001, C = .21										
Time at Which Students Made the Definite Decision To Go											
As far back as they can remember	16%	19%	30%	18%	24%	9%	21%	13%	20%	24%	18%
During grade school years	8	14	22	11	19	12	22	17	20	20	16
During first few years of high school	32	29	28	39	36	30	33	35	27	29	33
During senior year of high school	33	33	16	25	16	34	19	31	25	24	26
Sometime <u>after</u> high school graduation	11	5	4	7	5	15	5	4	8	3	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	χ^2 significant beyond .001, C = .25										

¹Tables that concern only the freshmen students are based on 100 students per institution, a total N of 1,000.

all these resources, at least as a means of defraying the major part of the students' college costs.

Another aspect of the decision-making process concerns the interpersonal influences that affected the students' college planning. The population is quite homogeneous in saying that someone was influential in the decision to attend college. About three-quarters of the students in all of the schools mention some figure who especially encouraged them to go. Considerable homogeneity also exists regarding the figures who are mentioned as being influential. In all of the schools the students' mothers are the most frequently mentioned figures. (See Table 18.) About two out of three students mention the mother, half of them naming the mother alone, half mentioning her in connection with both parents. Nevertheless, although "mother alone" and "both parents" are the two most frequent categories relative to other figures in all of the schools, the actual proportions mentioning them do vary by institution. This is particularly true with respect to those mentioning "both parents," i.e., giving the father as well as the mother an important influence role. The number mentioning both parents as important influence figures varies from 23 percent to 57 percent with considerable variation between these extremes. In the schools where smaller numbers mention their parents, older siblings and high school teachers tend to be the compensatory influence people.

The institutions differ very much in the kinds of schools their students considered at the time of applying to college. In the first place, although nearly half of the total population applied only to the school they are currently attending, this varies according to institution. In some schools, only a quarter of the students applied to no other colleges, while in two schools, this is true of nearly four-fifths of the students. (See Table 19.) Thus, the colleges differ greatly in the involvement of their students in the

TABLE II-17

Relative Importance of Various Financial Means of Handling
the Costs of College in the Ten Institutions

Proportion of the Students Saying the Following Sources Contributed "more than half" of Their College Costs	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Parents or relatives	70%	58%	52%	68%	47%	38%	45%	58%	46%	72%	59%
Loans	12	11	13	18	30	48	20	14	30	9	22
Scholarships	8	15	22	9	26	10	35	14	16	14	19
Summer or part-time work during the school year	14	16	18	12	8	10	6	14	13	15	12

TABLE II-18

Interpersonal Influences Operating in the Freshmen Students' Decisions To Go To College

Persons Mentioned as Particularly Encouraging the Student's Decision To Go To College	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
<u>Family Figures</u>											
Mother alone	28%	35%	21%	36%	35%	35%	35%	38%	37%	29%	34%
Father alone	4	3	3	5	2	4	6	4	3	6	4
Both parents	28	45	56	39	39	23	40	31	35	44	37
Older siblings	10	3	3	1	6	11	1	4	4	3	5
Other relatives	8	3	3	3	4	9	4	1	6	4	5
<u>Nonfamily Figures</u>											
High school teacher	17	11	11	15	12	14	14	20	12	9	13
Peer friend	4	-	3	1	1	2	-	2	3	3	1
Older adult	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(69)	(72)	(74)	(77)	(86)	(72)	(76)	(76)	(79)	(73)	(754) ¹

χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .31

¹The total N and N in each institution are reduced because this table is based only on those freshmen who mentioned someone as having encouraged their decision to attend college.

whole issue of "choosing" a college. Apparently, some of these schools serve much more than others as a real "choice" for their students.

Apart from the colleges to which the students actually applied, the students were also asked to list the three schools they most seriously considered at the time of deciding which college to attend. These three choices were coded in terms of their racial composition and, in the case of the predominantly Negro colleges in the Deep South, in terms of their gross academic status as judged by an accrediting association. Looking first at the racial composition of the colleges they considered, we learn that three-fifths of the total population considered only predominantly Negro colleges in the Deep South. Adding to this those students who considered only predominantly Negro colleges but in other regions as well as the Deep South, nearly three-quarters of this population could be described as totally in the Negro college circuit. The institutions do differ in this matter. (See Table 20.) Nevertheless, even in the school with the largest proportion who considered both predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools, less than half of the students actually mention a predominantly white school among their first three choices.

In addition to coding the racial composition of the students' first three choices, the students were also asked a direct question about whether they had ever seriously thought about attending a predominantly white college. Half of the students in the total population, and more than half in four of the schools, answer negatively. Thus, despite the fact that the institutions differ somewhat in how many of their students considered white as well as Negro colleges, the predominantly Negro colleges serve as the only schools seriously considered for large numbers of these students. It is not simply that these students are attending predominantly Negro colleges; it is that large numbers of them say they never seriously thought about attending any

other kind of school and even larger numbers mention only the Negro colleges among their first three choices for college.

Ranking the predominantly Negro colleges the students did consider involved classifying their first three choices into one of four groups of schools: unaccredited schools, those that are barely accredited in the eyes of the accrediting association, an intermediate group, and a group of schools considered the highest ranking by the association. None of the students in this population mention any of the unaccredited schools among their first three choices; only ten percent even mention any that are just "barely" accredited. (See Table 21.) So, most of these students considered schools that would fall into at least the intermediate group of colleges. However, the institutional differences are quite sizable, particularly in the proportion of their students who considered only the highest group of colleges. It is not simply that some of these schools are in that group themselves. It also means that the students attending the highest ranking schools are also likely to mention only such schools. There is in this student population one group of students who fall exclusively in the circuit of the highest ranking Negro schools.

A pattern of institutional differences emerges from these results. Those institutions where the largest proportion of students applied to several colleges, where "both parents" were relatively more influential in the students' choices, and where more of the parents are contributing the major part of their children's support in college are also those where the students restricted their considerations to colleges in at least the intermediate and generally the highest ranking categories. They are also those where the students come from families with relatively high incomes. So, at least one of the factors that seems to operate in accounting for these institutional

TABLE II-19

Number of Colleges the Freshmen Students in the Ten Institutions Actually Applied to

Number of Schools Applied to	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
None other than the one the student is attend- ing	55%	48%	42%	43%	43%	65%	46%	25%	49%	28%	47%
One other school	35	27	27	32	38	25	40	42	35	41	34
Two other schools	7	15	21	19	10	7	10	24	8	14	12
Three or more	3	10	10	6	9	3	4	9	8	17	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

 χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .33

TABLE II-20

Freshmen Students' Positions Regarding Racial Composition of Colleges
at the Time They Were Choosing a College To Attend

Racial Composition of the Three Colleges the Students Most Seriously Considered	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Considered <u>only</u> predominantly Negro colleges in the Deep South	64%	53%	46%	71%	62%	90%	61%	46%	57%	58%	62%
Considered <u>only</u> predominantly Negro colleges but in several regions of the country	10	10	9	8	3	2	7	15	12	11	8
Considered <u>both</u> predominantly Negro and predominantly white colleges	25	29	34	20	35	8	31	33	26	30	27
Considered <u>only</u> predominantly white (apart from college currently attending)	1	8	11	1	-	-	1	6	5	1	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
X ² significant beyond .001, C = .32											
Summary of the Extent to Which the Students Thought About Predominantly White Colleges at the Time of Deciding Where To Go To College											
Student reports that he "never seriously thought about attending a predominantly white college"	60%	51%	32%	63%	37%	77%	48%	40%	52%	44%	51
Student says he "seriously thought about it" but doesn't mention any among schools he actually considered or applied to	14	12	23	16	28	13	20	21	17	25	19
Student mentions <u>one</u> predominantly white college among those he actually considered or applied to	17	23	15	16	28	7	17	27	18	15	19
Student mentions <u>two</u> predominantly white colleges	7	10	24	3	6	3	14	7	8	13	8
Student mentions <u>three or more</u> predominantly white colleges	2	4	6	2	1	-	1	5	5	3	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
X ² significant beyond .001, C = .35											

TABLE II-21

Gross Rankings of the Predominantly Negro Colleges
That Were Seriously Considered by Freshmen Students

Ranking of Schools Considered by Those who Mentioned at Least Two Predominantly Negro Colleges Among the Three They Considered Most Seriously	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Considered both the barely accredited and intermediate group of schools	6%	-	-	6%	7%	39%	-	-	-	-	10%
Considered only the inter- mediate group	49	-	11	38	31	39	2	4	-	-	22
Considered both the inter- mediate and highest group of schools	41	42	32	52	59	22	48	15	55	39	42
Considered only the highest group of schools	4	57	57	4	3	-	50	81	45	61	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001, C = .67

differences in the college decision making process has to do with family income. Indeed, the only consideration that seems to be unaffected by family income is the question of whether the students considered any predominantly white colleges among their first three choices. But, family income does affect all of the other considerations. The students from families with lower incomes decided later than others whether they would definitely go to college; they were relatively more influenced by siblings and high school teachers and less influenced by "both parents"; they depend on loans to a greater extent than the students from more comfortable families; they applied to fewer colleges and considered fewer of the highest academically-ranked colleges than did the students from more affluent backgrounds.⁸

The implications of these findings are heightened by other data from this study which suggest that family income is not related to the students' ability or to their motivationally relevant personality characteristics.⁹ Thus, despite their apparent readiness to handle as high quality education as other students, the students from economically deprived backgrounds attend the highest ranking schools in fewer numbers and consider fewer of those schools among their first three choices. This introduces a disturbing element in the picture of educational opportunities in this population. Something in the environment operates to structure the consideration and choice process differentially for students from various income backgrounds. Insofar as it reflects only economic factors (differential tuition costs, work opportunities, scholarships and loans available in the various colleges),

⁸ The issue of the way income affects the choice process of the students is discussed more fully in a paper by Gurin and Epps (1966).

⁹ Ibid.

the educational opportunities of these students could be equalized by strictly economic means. Insofar as it reflects recruitment preferences and policies of the colleges, counseling advice of high school personnel, indirect norms in the high school environment, or parental expectations that encourage low income students to consider only certain schools, the situation may be more difficult to change. But the data clearly indicate that low income students in this population, despite equal motivational strengths and ability, have unequal access to the highest ranking colleges among the institutions studied. Certain colleges may want to consider more active recruitment of these low income students as their financial resources for student assistance expand. And, assuming the highest ranking colleges do seek out these students in larger numbers, low income parents and particularly high school personnel, because of their heightened significance for low income students, will need to encourage active consideration of these colleges that currently have so little saliency for the low income group.

Their Educational Goals and Expectations

One of the questions the students were asked concerned what they were looking for in college, their goals for college. Ten different goals were presented to them to rate and to choose the one that was most important. The proportion of students in each school who endorse each of the goals as the most important to them provides a way of describing the relative importance of these various goals. The population is very homogeneous in terms of what they are looking for in college; the institutions do not differ significantly. The top two goals in all of the institutions are vocational ones. (See Table 22.) In every school, the top one is "thinking through what occupation and career I want and developing some of the necessary skills." The second most important in each institution is "opportunity to get training for a better job than I could get otherwise." In all but two of the institutions, the

third most important is "finding myself - discovering what kind of person I really want to be." This is not strictly a vocational goal. It implies broader identity issues than simply the question of occupational choice and self-definition. The next two most important, although the institutions differ somewhat in the ordering of these two, are "developing a deep, perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study" and "getting prepared for marriage and family life." The remaining five goals are less pragmatic ones, having to do with broad academic, intellectual and value development. They are ordered somewhat differently in the ten institutions but they are considerably less important than the more pragmatic ones in all of the schools. Specifically, they are: "proving to myself I can do good college work," "exploring new ideas - the excitement of learning," "opportunity to think through what I really believe, what values are important to me," "establishing meaningful friendships," and "gaining recognition and honors for academic performance." As a whole, then, this population attaches greater importance to vocational-pragmatic goals than to intellectual and value exploration. It should be noted, however, that the predominance of vocational goals is also characteristic of the students at a predominantly white, high status school in the north where these same questions were also administered. Though somewhat smaller proportions of the students at that college endorse these vocational orientations as their most important goals for college, it is still true that they put greater stress on the vocational goals than on academic or broad intellectual concerns. This comparison is given so that unwarranted implications are not drawn about the fact that this Negro student population is highly vocationally oriented. Vocationalism is strong among them and persists throughout the college years. But it is also important on the predominantly white campus, considerably more important than the other goals for the white students as well.

TABLE II-22

Most Important Goal for College Held by the Students in the Ten Institutions

Proportion Ranking Each of the Following as the Most Important Goal for College	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Getting prepared for marriage and family life	11%	13%	8%	12%	12%	15%	10%	10%	13%	10%	12%
Thinking through what occupa- tion and career I want and developing some of the necessary skills	35	29	27	29	27	29	28	22	29	25	29
Proving to myself I can do good college work	7	8	3	6	4	6	5	12	6	4	7
Exploring new ideas - the excitement of learning	3	3	6	4	5	6	4	9	4	3	4
Establishing meaningful friendships	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
Gaining recognition and honors for academic performance	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	1
Finding myself; discovering what kind of person I really want to be	12	15	19	13	17	8	15	14	13	16	14
Opportunity to think through what I really believe, what values are important to me	1	4	7	4	6	5	7	3	4	7	4
Developing a deep, perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study	11	10	10	11	14	7	15	12	10	15	11
Opportunity to get training for a better job than I could get otherwise	18	16	19	19	13	20	15	16	19	18	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

 χ^2 not significant

Another way to examine the students' orientations toward college has to do with the reasons they chose the school they are currently attending. Of course, these reasons say as much about the way these institutions are perceived as they say about differences in what the students want out of college. A long list of possible reasons for choosing a college was presented to each of the freshmen. They were asked to check whether each of these reasons operated in their choice of the college they were attending. (See Table 23.) The proportion of freshmen in the ten schools who say they chose each school because "it has a high academic standing" varies greatly. In four schools, over 90 percent say this was a reason for choosing the school; in four others, only 40 to 60 percent give this as a reason. Similarly, the institutions vary greatly in the proportion of their freshmen who say they chose the school because "it is a hard school that will really challenge me." Over four-fifths of the students in four of the institutions give this as a reason, although only 20 to 30 percent mention this in five others schools. The opposite orientation, choosing the school because "it is a school where I knew I could handle the work," is checked by only a small proportion in any of the schools. Nevertheless, the schools do differ significantly in the number of their students for whom this is important.

Apart from the questions of what the students are looking for in college and the reasons that guided their choice of a college, there is the issue of how much importance they attach to graduating from college. Two questions were asked about the incentive of college education, one having to do with the relative importance attached to college versus marriage and one pairing college versus a good job. The former was phrased: "If you wanted to get married but it meant dropping out of college, what do you think you would do?" The latter was phrased: "If you had an opportunity for a good job which did

TABLE II-23

Extent to Which Freshmen in the Ten Schools Chose That School for Academic Reasons

Proportion Saying They Chose Their College Because	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
It has high academic standing	63%	59%	92%	64%	90%	43%	85%	93%	80%	97%	74%
	χ^2 significant beyond .001, C = .36										
It is a hard school that will really challenge me	23	23	72	32	62	25	42	63	34	64	41
	χ^2 significant beyond .001, C = .33										
It is a school where I knew I could handle the work	31	26	8	13	12	21	16	8	19	4	18
	χ^2 significant beyond .001, C = .22										
It offers particularly good training in the field I want to go into	63	61	62	60	61	69	70	84	78	63	67
	χ^2 not significant										

not require finishing college, do you think you would drop out of college to take the job?". These two approaches were used in order to tap the counter pulls that might be most appropriate for both sexes. Actually, the results indicate that the two questions have equal significance to the females. Approximately two-fifths of all the girls say they "definitely would not drop out of college" irrespective of whether marriage or a good job is involved. But these two counter pulls do have unequal importance for the males. As is true of the females, approximately two-fifths of the males say they would not drop out for a good job, whereas, three-fifths of them would not drop out for marriage. So, for the males, the importance of college is greater when it is compared with marriage than it is when compared with the incentive attached to getting a good job. These sex differences do not contaminate the institutional comparisons, however, since an equal number of males and females from each school were included in the coding sample. And, although the institutions do differ somewhat regarding the incentives their students place on obtaining a college education, the variation is quite limited. (See Table 25.)

In addition to asking the students about the importance of college, they were also asked about their actual expectations of being able to finish, how certain they were about finishing school. Only a third of the students in the total population are completely certain about finishing. The modal response in most of the institutions is that they are "pretty certain" of graduating. Although the institutions differ significantly, the differences are not sizable. (See Table 26.)

The students' expectations of going on to graduate school are much lower than their expectations of graduating from college. (See Table 27.) This is not surprising. Only ten percent of the total population (and no more than

TABLE II-24

Importance Students in the Ten Institutions Attach to Graduating From College

Importance of College Relative to Marriage	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
If you wanted to get married but it meant dropping out of college, what do you think you would do?											
Probably would drop out	4%	6%	2%	4%	4%	5%	7%	6%	3%	3%	5%
Might drop out	12	18	5	13	12	11	8	10	12	14	11
Probably would <u>not</u> drop out	32	35	30	36	38	36	36	39	40	38	37
Definitely would <u>not</u> drop out	52	41	63	47	46	48	49	45	45	45	47
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
χ^2 significant beyond .001, C = .15											
If you had an opportunity for a good job which did not require finishing college, do you think you would drop out of college to take the job?											
Probably would drop out	6%	7%	5%	4%	6%	6%	6%	5%	5%	5%	5%
Might drop out	19	26	18	17	23	19	20	16	18	20	19
Probably would <u>not</u> drop out	33	35	35	33	37	33	31	36	35	33	34
Definitely would <u>not</u> drop out	42	32	42	46	34	42	43	43	42	42	42
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
χ^2 significant at .005, C = .13											

TABLE II-25

Expectancy of Finishing College Held by Students in the Ten Institutions

<u>Degree of Certainty About Finishing College</u>	<u>Institutions</u>										<u>Total Population</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	
Completely certain	33%	34%	41%	28%	38%	42%	41%	32%	32	35%	35%
Pretty certain	60	58	51	64	54	49	55	57	62	56	57
Some possibility of not finishing	7	8	8	8	8	9	4	11	6	9	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 significant beyond .001

C = .20

TABLE II-26

Expectancy of Going to Graduate School Held by Students in the Ten Institutions

Degree of Certainty About Going to Graduate or Professional School	Institutions										Total Population
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Completely certain of going	8%	11%	17%	8%	11%	8%	11%	12%	9%	13%	10%
Pretty certain of going	53	48	52	49	43	52	49	41	45	45	48
Some possibility of <u>not</u> going	20	23	23	24	31	24	25	22	23	30	24
Probably will <u>not</u> go	19	18	8	19	15	16	15	25	23	12	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

 χ^2 significant at .001

C = .20

17 percent in any one institution) say they are completely certain of going to graduate school.

Summary

In only a few ways can this student population be described as homogeneous. It is homogeneously southern in origin and the ten institutions differ very little in the social experiences their students have had outside the Deep South. The students in all of the institutions also come from similar family structures, primarily from homes in which both parents were present during their early years of life. And the institutions are quite similar in what their students are looking for in college, what might be thought of as their goals for college.

In most other ways, however, the institutions differ markedly. They differ in their students' class backgrounds - their family incomes, their parents' educational attainments and their occupational status. They also vary considerably in the rural-urban and out-of-state influences reflected in their student bodies, in the civil rights experiences their students have had, the processes by which their students got to college, the kinds of colleges they considered, and the extent to which positive academic considerations operated in their decisions of which college to attend. Finally, although the differences are not sizable, the schools also differ significantly in the importance their students attach to a college education and in their actual expectations of obtaining a college degree and going on to graduate or professional school.

Of course, as important and in some ways more interesting than the fact that these schools differ in numerous ways is the question of how these differences are patterned. Are the institutions that recruit a relatively large number of students from high status backgrounds the same ones with a

large number of out-of-state students? Do they have student bodies with greater or with less civil rights experience than the institutions whose students come from families with somewhat lower social status? Although the patterning of these differences can be seen by following a given school's position in the tables presented in this chapter, we will take up the institutional patterning of these characteristics in greater detail in Chapter IX. There we will examine the intercorrelations of these and other institutional characteristics as well as discuss the way in which these institutional patterns condition levels of aspiration in the ten schools.

CHAPTER III
TYPES OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES THE STUDENTS
IN THESE COLLEGES ARE MAKING

On the basis of previous studies (Back and Simpson, 1964; Harrison, 1953; Henderson, 1960; Brown, 1960), we expected these students' choices to be fairly constricted unless efforts to redirect their interests had already been somewhat successful by 1964. The predominantly Negro colleges with highly developed placement and counseling services had been stressing for some time the need to diversify curriculum offerings and career information in order to combat constriction in occupational choice.¹ But it was the new interest in hiring Negro graduates in previously closed occupations that gave national attention to the facts known long before to Negro educators. All of a sudden the treks of recruiters began; all of a sudden Negro graduates were desired in many new fields. It may have come as a surprise to some persons, but not to counselors in Negro colleges, that many students would be only minimally interested, informed, or prepared for some of these career opportunities. The restriction in their choices, the fact that few students aspired to business careers, to positions in industry or to professional-technical jobs, while large numbers planned to go into teaching and various "helping professions," was dramatically projected to a national audience. Efforts to open doors were beginning to be successful but too few Americans had understood what the years of closed doors had done to the interests and aspirations of Negro youth. We approached this study wondering whether these depressive effects had been altered and whether the picture of aspirations

¹See especially the discussions of William Brazziel (1958 and 1960) on curriculum and counseling needs in the predominantly Negro colleges.

would have changed by the fall of 1964. Would the students' interests show greater diversification than might have been expected even three or four years before?

Description of Their Choices

Measures of Choice

All students administered questionnaires in the fall of 1964 were asked a series of questions about their occupational aspirations. First, they were asked how sure they were about the occupation they wanted to get into after graduation or completion of their training. The students who were not completely sure of what they wanted to do were asked to describe the occupations they were considering and to select the one they would most prefer if forced to make a decision at that time. Then, in order to encourage realism in their discussions of their choices, all students were asked how certain they were of "actually being able to get into" the occupation they had selected. The choices described include only those which the students felt there was "at least some possibility" of obtaining. They represent what is normally considered the actual rather than ideal goals of the students.

Results

The results show little evidence that these students' choices are much different from those described in previous studies. As can be seen in Table 1, almost all of the males and females make some kind of professional choice. Furthermore, as expected, the predominant professional choice is either elementary or secondary teaching. Altogether, 24 percent of the males and 44 percent of the females are choosing some kind of noncollege teaching job. Also, as expected, very few of these students, either males or females, are yet making choices that would be classified as business executive or managerial jobs in the census code.

TABLE III-1

Description of Males' and Females' Occupational Choices,
Classified According to Major Census Categories

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
<u>Professional</u>	94%	92%
Doctors, dentists	10%	2%
Other medical (nurses, therapists, veterinarians)	5	11
Accountants and auditors	5	1
Teachers	24	44
College faculty and administrators, research workers in social sciences	8	7
Architects, industrial chemists, engineers, physical and biological scientists	11	2
Technicians (pilots, designers, dietitians, draftsmen, funeral directors, medical technicians)	6	5
Public advisors (clergymen, social workers, farm and home management agents, editors and reporters)	8	13
Lawyers and judges	6	1
Officers in Armed Forces	4	0
Other professional	7	6
<u>Managers, Officers, Proprietors</u>	3	1
<u>Clerical and Sales</u>	1	7
<u>Craftsmen, Operatives, Laborers, Service</u>	2	Less than 1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(1,914)	(1,969)

Ninety-six males (approximately five percent of the total sample of 2,000) and 31 females (approximately two percent of the total sample of 2,000) either gave no occupational choice or stated a choice which they felt they had practically no possibility of attaining. The percents in this table are based on the adjusted N's after deleting these students.

Even when the choices are classified according to the interest areas they represent, which provides a more detailed breakdown than the major census classifications, we find a fairly narrow range of choices in almost all of the areas. For instance, one-third of the choices in the most frequently chosen interest area for males, mathematics and applied science, represent some kind of educational setting. (See Table 2.) It is true that another third fall in engineering or some kind of industrial scientific research, both of which have been infrequent choices among Negro students. Nevertheless, a very small proportion of the remaining choices involve the burgeoning fields in applied mathematics - jobs in statistics, computer applications of mathematics, operation of computing equipment, etc. Similarly, less than one percent of all males are choosing either architecture or industrial design, both historically quite unusual choices for Negro students. If the medical field is also included in applied science, even less diversity is represented in the males' scientific interests. With the inclusion of medicine, over half of the males' scientific choices involve either an educational setting or the traditionally prestigious choice of doctor.

Constriction is also seen in the girls' choices in applied science. It is probably even greater than with the males. Not only are there fewer females than males making choices in this area, but over half of the girls who are interested in science mention some kind of teaching position.

Moving to the business and sales interest area, we also see considerable constriction in the interests represented by the students' choices. Although 11 percent of the males and 12 percent of the females are choosing some kind of business occupation, a very small proportion of either sex aspires to careers in such unusual areas as marketing, advertising, business management, public relations, or personnel work. The largest single business choice among

TABLE III-2

Description of Males' and Females' Occupational Choices,
Classified According to Interest Areas

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
<u>Medicine</u>	(14%)	(13%)
Dental or Medical Technician	1%	1%
Dentist	1	0
Doctor	9	2
Psychiatrist	Less 1	Less 1
Registered Nurse	0	7
Practical Nurse	0	0
Registered Pharmacist	1	Less 1
Druggist's Assistant	0	0
Physical or Occupational therapist	2	3
<u>Business and Sales</u>	(11%)	(12%)
Accountant	5%	1%
Bookkeeper	1	Less 1
Investment Broker	0	0
Clerk in investment firm	Less 1	0
Business Administrator-Executive	2	Less 1
Manager-Office manager of large concern	1	Less 1
Sales representative for firm	Less 1	0
Sales manager	Less 1	Less 1
Marketing or Advertising Executive	Less 1	Less 1
Marketing or Advertising Assistant	Less 1	0
Public relations personnel	1	Less 1
Stenographer, Secretary	0	7
Typist	0	Less 1
Teacher of commercial subjects in high school	Less 1	3
<u>Social Science, Social Welfare, Government and Public Advisors</u>	(12%)	(17%)
Economist	Less 1%	Less 1%
Counselor, psychologist, guidance counselor	1	3
Social Worker	5	11
Administrator in Social Agency	Less 1	Less 1
Recreation Worker	Less 1	Less 1
Foreign Service, Diplomatic	1	1
Interpreter, Translator	Less 1	Less 1
Elected local public official	Less 1	0
Elected national public official	Less 1	Less 1
Minister	1	0
Secondary Teacher of Social Studies	2	1

Table III-2 (Cont)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
<u>The Arts, Mass Communication and Entertainment</u>	<u>(5%)</u>	<u>(11%)</u>
Composer	Less 1%	Less 1%
Musician-General	1	Less 1
Conductor or leader of jazz group	Less 1	0
Conductor of symphony	0	0
Musician-Instrumentalist in jazz or dance group	Less 1	Less 1
Musician-Instrumentalist in symphony orchestra	Less 1	Less 1
College professor of music	Less 1	Less 1
High school band director	Less 1	0
High school music teacher	1	1
Painter or sculptor	0	Less 1
Commercial art: advertising illustrator	Less 1	0
Interior decorator	Less 1	Less 1
Fashion designer	0	1
Photographer	0	0
College professor of art	0	Less 1
High school teacher of art	Less 1	Less 1
Writer, novelist, poet, playwright	Less 1	Less 1
Music critic, literary critic	0	0
Copy writer	Less 1	Less 1
Newspaper editor	0	0
Newspaper reporter	Less 1	Less 1
Proofreader	Less 1	Less 1
College professor of literature	Less 1	Less 1
High school teacher of English and literature	Less 1	4
Librarian	Less 1	2
Assistant in library	0	1
<u>Basic and Applied Science and Math</u>	<u>(26%)</u>	<u>(7%)</u>
Architect, Designer	1%	0%
Draftsman	1	Less 1
Airplane pilot	Less 1	0
Engineer	7	Less 1
Industrial scientific research	2	1
Assistant in scientific laboratory	2	1
Aeronautical, automotive or other technician	Less 1	0
Mathematician	2	1
Computer programmer	Less 1	0
Computer-machine operator	1	Less 1
Key punch operator	0	Less 1
Statistician	Less 1	Less 1
Statistical clerk	Less 1	0
College professor of Math	1	Less 1
College professor of science	5	1
High school teacher of science	1	1
High school teacher of math	2	2

Table III-2 (Cont)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
<u>Agriculture and Home Economics</u>	(2%)	(4%)
Farm owner and operator	Less 1	0
Farm manager	Less 1	0
County agricultural agent	1	0
High school teacher of agriculture	1	0
Home economist	0	1
Home economic demonstration agent	0	Less 1
Dietician	0	2
High school teacher of home economics	0	1
<u>Sports and Physical Education</u>	(4%)	(2%)
Professional sports player	1	0
Trainer for professional team	Less 1	0
Coach for professional team	Less 1	0
Coach of college team	Less 1	0
Coach of high school team	1	0
High school teacher of physical education	3	2
<u>Education not covered elsewhere</u>	(15%)	(33%)
College professor, not classified	3	2
Special education	Less 1	2
High school teacher of industrial arts	1	0
Elementary school teacher	11	29
<u>Law</u>	(7%)	(1%)
Lawyer	7	1
Specific civil rights law	Less 1	0
Law clerk, assistant in law firm	0	Less 1
Legal secretary	0	0
College professor of law	Less 1	0
<u>Skilled Workers and operatives</u>	(2%)	(Less 1%)
Electrician	1	0
Trained machinist	Less 1	Less 1
Mechanic	Less 1	0
Plumber	Less 1	0
Radio-TV repairman	Less 1	0
Foreman	Less 1	0
Drill press operator	Less 1	0
Welder	Less 1	0
<u>Service Workers</u>	(2%)	(Less 1%)
Airline stewardess	0	Less 1
Beautician (Barber)	Less 1	Less 1
Policeman	0	0
Officers in armed services	2	Less 1
	100%	100%
	(1,914)	(1,969)

males is accounting, a choice that is normally considered professional rather than managerial in nature. The diversity in the girls' choices in the business area is also limited; almost all of their choices are classified as either secretarial jobs or commercial teaching in high school.

Discussion

The students' choices in science and business have been highlighted not because of any value judgment that these areas should be selected by large numbers of these students. But these are fields which historically have had limited opportunities for Negro youth. And, according to placement offices of colleges included in the study, it is also from these two areas that the major flood of recruiters have come to Negro campuses in recent years. They should serve, then, as test areas for how much the students' choices have expanded as a function of increasing the opportunities in previously restricted areas.

With the exception of larger numbers choosing engineering, the data suggest, however, that the new recruitment efforts have not been very successful, at least up to the fall of 1964, in broadening the kinds of choices students are making in these two areas. This is not to say that change will not occur through these stepped-up recruitment programs. On the other hand, some of the data we will be discussing in this report suggest that such efforts are not enough. Some of the characteristics of this student population - particularly their restricted social experiences outside the south, the influence apparently exerted by high status parents for relatively traditional jobs, and the importance of certain personality factors in determining choice of nontraditional jobs - suggest that recruitment efforts which are dependent solely on bringing information and personnel to the campus may not remedy the effects of historical exclusion as quickly as desired. The

recruitment message may be heard but reacted to with incredulity, the sense that "he" doesn't really mean it or, at least, doesn't mean "me." In order to give credulity to opportunity and the self-assurance to respond, it may be necessary to bring the students to the message - take them off the campus for actual work experiences in some of these unusual job settings during the college years. In addition, our counseling with students may need to include, along with opportunity information, some discussion focused on the social, familial, and motivational forces that operate to inhibit nontraditional choices. And this counseling needs to be made available to larger numbers of students than most colleges could conceivably afford with their current financial resources.

These suggestions anticipate a number of the results yet to be discussed in this report; they are given simply to illustrate that some innovative approaches to recruitment and counseling may be needed if we are to affect the constriction in occupational choice that comes from years of restricted opportunities. Let it be clear that they do not presume a value that these students should be guided or directed into business or jobs in applied science or mathematics, or any other nontraditional career for that matter. They simply reflect the concern that the choices the students are making seem to indicate that too few of these students are yet aware of the choices they could make. Too few seem yet to be acting in the full meaning of "choosing" a career - a process in which decisions are based on consideration of a broad range of alternatives.

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CHAPTER IV

STUDENT EVALUATIONS OF OCCUPATIONS

Because we expected little change in the kinds of occupations students would be choosing for themselves by the fall of 1964, we thought we might learn something about the problem of choice by asking students to evaluate a list of occupations that would include a large number infrequently chosen by Negro youth in the past. In this way we could find out what occupations are attractive to these students even if rarely chosen by large numbers of them. It would also be possible to determine whether new opportunity careers that previously were closed to Negro youth are as attractive to them as occupations in which Negroes have traditionally achieved in this society. If the new opportunity areas are just as attractive as the more traditional avenues of achievement, the problem of constriction of choice could be attacked simply by providing more information about these opportunities to larger numbers of students. But, if the occupations which are only now opening up to Negro youth are not only infrequently chosen but are also less attractive than more traditional occupations, it becomes clear that the consequences of years of restricted opportunities will be much more difficult to modify. In this case, the problem of choice takes on parameters that are not so easily altered simply by providing information about new opportunities.

Design and Methods of the Evaluation Study

In an effort to obtain a better understanding of the problem of choice, a random sample of approximately 950 students in these colleges was asked to participate in a special data collection concerned with evaluating occupations. This special substudy was conducted several months after all of the students in the colleges had been administered the major battery of questionnaires and

tests. The list of occupations to be evaluated by the special sample included all of the occupations given as their own choices by at least one percent of the students in the earlier questionnaires. This meant that peer judgments were obtained of almost all of the choices actually made by students in the general study. Also included were a number of occupations which had not been given as actual choices but which fell into the category of new opportunities for Negro youth.

Occupational Characteristics That Were Judged

One of the characteristics the students were asked to judge was the occupation's personal attractiveness or desirability to them. Desirability was defined in terms of how satisfied or dissatisfied the student would be with the occupation as an adult. The five-point rating scale varied from "extremely desirable, I'd be extremely satisfied with it" to "very undesirable, I'd be very dissatisfied with it."

Another characteristic rated was the occupation's prestige. It was measured using the instructions from the classic study of occupational prestige conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (1953). The students were asked: "For each occupation, pick out the one statement that best gives your own personal opinion of the general standing such an occupation has." The five-point scale ranged from "excellent standing" to "poor standing."

A third characteristic had to do with the occupation's ability demands, measured by response to the question: "It is generally felt that various occupations require a certain amount of intelligence or ability - what percentage of the students in your class at college do you feel have the general ability to attain each of the following occupations?" The seven-point rating scale ranged from "only the top one percent have the ability" to "almost everyone has the ability."

The last characteristic which was evaluated concerned the social difficulty of each occupation. The students were asked to rate separately what chance they felt a white person and an equally qualified Negro would have for each occupation, presuming they were applying for the same job. The social difficulty or discrimination score for each occupation was obtained by subtracting the rating of the Negro's chances from the white person's chances for that occupation.

Design

These four evaluations were obtained on 135 occupations. In order to limit the time requested of each student, the design provided for each student to judge only 44 occupations. A number of overlapping lists were compiled so that each occupation was rated within several different sets of occupations. The lists were randomly assigned to students participating in this special substudy of occupations. A check was later made to see whether the evaluations of each occupation differed depending on the set of occupations in which it was embedded. For instance, was "doctor" judged differently depending on the particular list of occupations in which it appeared? We found no evidence that contextual factors did affect the evaluations.

Questions Guiding the Analysis of Occupational Evaluations

The study has focused on three questions in analyzing these occupational evaluations:

1. What are the sex differences in these evaluations? To what extent do the males and females agree and disagree in how they evaluate these characteristics of occupations?
2. Are there differences in how students view the opportunity structure in the north and the south? How do these students who have grown up in the Deep South judge the relative opportunities and obstacles in the urban north and urban south?

3. What are the interrelationships of these different judgments of occupations? Of particular interest in this section is the relationship between prestige and two types of "difficulty" of a job - the difficulty posed by high ability demands and the difficulty posed by social and discriminatory obstacles.

Sex Differences in Occupational Evaluations

Social scientists who have investigated the prestige value of occupations have repeatedly noted a great consensus in American society regarding the prestige that occupations are considered to have (Reiss, 1961). For instance, these studies find very few occupations whose prestige is judged differently by men and women. However, since these studies have restricted their interests to prestige, it was not at all clear from previous research whether we should expect any differences in how other characteristics of occupations might be evaluated by males and females. Would the males and females in this population agree in their judgments about the ability various occupations require? Would they agree about what occupations are particularly difficult for a Negro to obtain? And would they differ in what occupations are considered personally attractive or desirable to them?

The results from this study indicate that there is very close agreement between the male and female evaluations of all characteristics of occupations except their personal desirability or attractiveness. On only four percent of the occupations are there significant sex differences in evaluating prestige; on only one percent of the occupations do the males and females disagree in evaluating how much ability is required; and on only two percent of the occupations are there sex differences in judging the social difficulty for a Negro. On the other hand, 20 percent of the occupations are judged differently by males and females with respect to their personal desirability or attractiveness.

The general picture of the students' evaluations of the 135 occupations can be seen in Table 1. Because of the minimal sex differences in judging prestige, ability demands, and social difficulty, the ratings of the whole population are used to rank order the occupations on these dimensions. Because of the lack of agreement about what is personally desirable to males and females, the rank position of each occupation's personal desirability or attractiveness is given separately for each sex.

TABLE IV-1

Ranks Assigned to Occupations Based on Judgments Made by
Students of Five Characteristics of Occupations

	<u>Prestige</u>	<u>Ability Demands</u>	<u>Ranking¹ of Each Occupation According to:</u>			
			<u>Desirability</u>		<u>Social Difficulty</u>	
			<u>to Males</u>	<u>to Females</u>	<u>in the North</u>	<u>South</u>
<u>MEDICINE</u>						
Dental or medical technician	1	2	2	4	3	2
Dentist	1	3	3	8	5	6
Doctor - private practice	1	1	1	2	5	4
Staff surgeon at a large hospital	1	1	1	3	1	1
Psychiatrist	1	1	2	2	2	1
Practical nurse	9	8	10	7	9	9
Registered nurse	3	6	10	3	6	7
Nursing administrator	7	5	10	4	6	7
Registered pharmacist	1	2	2	2	3	3
Druggist's assistant	6	6	5	5	5	4
Physical or occupational therapist	3	4	3	2	4	5

¹The occupations were ranked on each dimension in the following manner. The mean of the students' judgments for a given occupation was used to assign a score to the occupation on each dimension. The distribution of these mean judgments of the 135 occupations was used to form ten ordered groups of occupations on each dimension. Each ordinal group represents ten percent of the occupations. The ranks range from "1" as the highest prestige, ability demands, personal desirability or attractiveness, or social difficulty to "10" as the lowest rank position on each of these dimensions.

Table IV-1 (Cont)

			General		Social Difficulty	
			Desirability		in the	
			to	to	North	South
	Prestige	Ability Demands	Males	Females		
<u>BUSINESS AND SALES</u>						
Accountant (CPA)	4	4	3	2	4	4
Actuary	8	5	6	8	4	4
Bank teller	7	5	4	3	1	1
Bookkeeper	7	7	6	6	6	7
Broker, Investment	6	4	4	7	3	4
Business administrator, Executive	2	5	1	1	4	3
Cashier	9	10	8	4	7	6
Clerk - in a store	10	10	7	7	6	6
Clerk - invoice clerk	8	6	6	5	6	6
Clerk - in an investment firm	8	7	5	4	4	4
Office manager of large concern	3	4	1	4	1	1
Sales manager	7	7	5	6	4	4
Marketing or advertising assistant	8	5	4	7	3	2
Marketing or advertising executive	4	4	1	5	3	2
Public relations officer	5	6	3	2	5	2
Sales representative for firm	7	6	3	6	2	1
Record salesman	9	9	6	8	7	6
Stenographer, Secretary	8	9	10	2	6	6
Typist	7	10	9	1	9	8
<u>SOCIAL SCIENCE, SOCIAL WEL- FARE, GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC ADVISORS</u>						
Administrator in social wel- fare agency	4	6	3	1	5	4
Census taker	9	9	6	7	5	5
Civil rights organization, professional work in organization	3	9	3	1	10	10
Counselor, psychological or guidance	4	4	3	1	5	6
Economist	4	5	3	2	4	5

Table IV-1 (Cont)

SOCIAL SCIENCE, ETC (Cont)	Prestige	Ability Demands	General Desirability		Social Difficulty	
			to Males	to Females	in the	
					North	South
Foreign service or diplomatic corps	4	3	2	4	2	2
Forest ranger, Conservationist	8	7	5	9	5	6
Interpreter, translator	5	2	4	3	3	3
Minister	6	5	7	9	9	9
Officer in armed services	5	8	3	8	7	9
Public official - local elected office	6	5	3	3	1	1
Public official - national elected office	2	2	2	3	1	1
Social worker	4	8	4	1	8	7
Working with youth groups like the Scouts, Y, etc	7	10	4	1	9	8
THE ARTS AND FASHION						
Accompanist for a soloist	9	4	8	6	8	9
Composer	4	1	6	8	5	5
Conductor of symphony orchestra	4	1	6	8	1	1
Conductor or leader of a jazz or dance group	6	4	5	4	10	10
Designer - fashion	4	4	7	1	3	3
Illustrator - advertising	6	5	5	2	4	3
Illustrator or sign painter	10	8	9	10	8	9
Interior decorator	4	4	5	1	4	3
Literary critic for magazine	6	3	4	5	3	3
Music critic for magazine	7	2	7	7	1	3
Musician - general	4	3	5	3	8	9
Musician - instrumentalist or vocalist in jazz or dance band	8	5	6	6	10	10
Musician - instrumentalist or vocalist in symphony or concert	7	3	8	7	6	8
Painter or sculptor	8	2	6	9	4	4
Photography touch up	9	8	6	8	7	8
Writer - novelist, playwright, poet or essayist	3	1	4	3	4	5

Table IV-1 (Cont)

	Prestige	Ability Demands	General		Social Difficulty	
			Desirability		in the	
			to Males	to Females	North	South
<u>BASIC AND APPLIED SCIENCE AND MATH</u>						
Airplane pilot	4	3	4	9	2	1
Architect, designer	2	1	1	4	2	2
Draftsman	6	5	4	9	6	5
Engineer	2	2	1	5	5	5
Consulting engineer of industrial firm	3	4	3	8	3	3
IBM computer programmer	3	6	2	1	6	5
IBM machine operator	3	8	1	1	5	5
Key punch machine operator	7	9	5	2	7	6
Mathematician	2	1	2	6	4	4
Science - laboratory assistant	3	4	3	2	3	4
Scientific consultant to government space agent	1	1	2	6	1	2
Scientist - industrial research	1	1	1	5	3	4
Statistical clerk	6	4	4	5	4	3
Statistician - chief, statistician in government agency	1	2	1	3	2	2
Technician - aeronautical, automotive or similar kind	3	3	2	4	2	2
<u>AGRICULTURE & HOME ECONOMICS</u>						
Agricultural consultant to foreign country	5	3	5	8	4	5
County agricultural agent	8	7	7	9	7	7
Dietician	6	6	10	4	6	7
Farm manager	9	9	9	10	9	9
Farm owner and operator	9	10	10	10	9	10
Home economics demonstration agent	8	8	9	4	8	7
Home economist	6	7	10	2	7	7

Table IV-1 (Cont)

			General		Social Difficulty	
			Desirability		in the	
	Prestige	Ability Demands	to Males	to Females	North	South
<u>EDUCATION AND LIBRARY WORK</u>						
Coach of college athletic team	5	7	5	9	6	7
Coach of high school athletic team	7	9	5	9	9	9
<u>College Professors of:</u>						
Art	5	3	7	7	5	6
College professor (general category)	2	5	1	3	6	6
Engineering	1	1	2	9	3	2
Law	2	2	2	5	3	3
Literature	4	4	6	2	7	7
Mathematics	1	3	3	6	5	6
Music	5	3	6	6	7	6
Physics, chemistry and other science	1	1	2	5	6	5
<u>High School Teacher of:</u>						
Agriculture	9	7	9	10	8	7
Art	8	5	8	8	7	7
Band director	8	6	9	8	8	9
Commercial subjects	8	9	8	5	8	8
English	5	7	7	3	7	10
Handicapped, retarded children	4	4	7	1	6	7
Industrial arts	8	8	7	10	8	3
Mathematics	5	3	5	7	6	5
Music	8	6	7	6	8	7
Physical education	7	8	6	6	9	8
Science	6	8	6	2	8	8
Social studies	7	9	6	4	7	7
<u>Teacher in Public Schools or Elementary Teacher</u>						
	5	10	5	1	8	8
<u>Librarian - chief librarian in large city library</u>						
	5	5	6	2	1	1
Library - assistant in	8	10	8	4	8	8

Table IV-1 (Cont)

			General		Social Difficulty	
			Desirability		in the	
			to	to	North	South
	<u>Prestige</u>	<u>Ability Demands</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>		
<u>MASS COMMUNICATION AND OTHER ENTERTAINMENT</u>						
Copy writer	7	5	7	5	4	3
Newspaper editor	4	3	5	5	1	1
Newspaper reporter	6	6	6	5	4	2
Photographer for top news magazine	6	6	4	4	4	1
Proofreader	8	5	8	6	3	3
Professional model	8	3	9	3	2	1
Professional sportsplayer	3	2	3	9	9	8
Trainer for athletic team	9	9	7	9	9	9
<u>LAW</u>						
Law clerk, assistant in law firm	2	3	3	4	2	1
Lawyer	1	2	1	2	5	4
Lawyer, civil rights	2	2	1	3	10	10
Legal or medical secretary	6	7	7	2	4	4
<u>SKILLED WORKERS AND FOREMEN NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED</u>						
Electrician	4	5	4	8	7	7
Foreman of a construction gang	10	9	8	10	4	4
Machinist, trained	7	8	6	7	8	8
Mechanic in a garage	10	8	9	10	10	10
Plumber	10	10	10	10	10	10
Radio-TV repairman	10	6	7	10	9	8
<u>OPERATIVES NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED</u>						
Drill press operator	10	9	10	10	9	9
Machine operator in a factory	10	10	9	9	9	8
Welder	10	9	9	10	10	10

Table IV-1 (Cont)

<u>SERVICE WORKERS NOT ELSE- WHERE CLASSIFIED</u>	<u>Prestige</u>	<u>Ability Demands</u>	<u>General Desirability</u>		<u>Social Difficulty in the</u>	
			<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>
Airline stewardess	7	8	10	1	2	3
Attendant in a mental hospital	10	8	9	8	9	9
Beautician (Barber)	10	10	10	7	9	9
Cook in a restaurant	10	10	10	10	10	10
Policeman (Policewoman)	9	10	9	8	5	6
Waitress	10	10	10	10	10	10

These results regarding the way the male and female students in this population evaluate occupations are consistent with the previous studies on occupational prestige. The males and females seem to have much the same norms about occupational structure. They share similar judgments about what is prestigious, highly demanding of ability, and socially difficult for a Negro. The implications of sharing these evaluations of occupations but differing in what is considered desirable will be discussed further in Chapter V when we take up the general issue of sex differences in the meaning of occupational choices.

It should be stressed at this point, however, that this agreement between the mean judgments of the males and females does not mean that there are no sex differences in their views about occupations. For instance, there are some sex differences in the interrelationships among these judgments, particularly in the relationship between the judged desirability of an occupation and its other qualities. (See Table 2.) The occupations that are highly desirable to the males are also quite likely to be demanding of high ability. This is much less true for the females. Their judgment of what is highly desirable is only slightly associated with their judgment of what is a high ability job. The relationships between the males' and females' judgments of desirability and social difficulty are also somewhat different. Again, there is a higher relationship for the males than for the females between what is considered desirable and what is judged to be socially difficult for a Negro. Thus, it is not simply that the males and females have different ideas about what is personally desirable to them. It is also that the occupations which are desirable to each sex differ in both ability and social difficulty. This would not be necessarily true just because they disagree about desirability. The two sexes could pick different but equally

difficult occupations as the most desirable to them. Instead, the males pick occupations that are much more likely to be demanding of ability and at least somewhat more likely to be difficult for a Negro to obtain. The girls are more often satisfied with occupations that are not especially difficult in either sense.

TABLE IV-2

Relationships Among the Various Judgments of Occupations

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
1. Judged prestige	1.00				
2. Judged desirability	.85 (.68)	1.00			
3. Judged ability demands	.76 (.65)	.63 (.21)	1.00		
4. Judged social difficulty in the north	.54 (.50)	.49 (.36)	.59 (.56)	1.00	
5. Judged social difficulty in the south	.50 (.42)	.49 (.37)	.53 (.50)	.96 (.94)	1.00

The correlations for the females' judgments are given in parentheses.

Student Perceptions of the Opportunity Structure in North and South

In addition to the importance of obtaining a general picture of what occupations are seen as highly prestigious, what occupations are attractive to these students, and what occupations they think demand great ability, there is the need, if we are to understand Negro students' occupational aspirations, to learn how they view the opportunity structure. We were particularly interested in whether social obstacles would be evaluated differently for the north and south. Nearly 95 percent of these students grew up in the Deep South; 60 percent of them have never traveled outside the Deep South more than a few times. Although the way these southern students judge the relative opportunities and obstacles of the north and south may say little about the realities of either setting, it should tell us something about the conceptions on which they operate in making their own decisions about where to work after college.

To explore this question, two instructions were used in asking students to rate the social difficulty of the 135 occupations. One asked them to rate the chances of a white person and an equally qualified Negro applying for the same job in a large northern city; the other asked for the same kind of judgment for each occupation in a large southern city. One or the other of these two instructions was randomly given to the students participating in the substudy of occupational evaluations. This makes it possible to compare the social difficulty attributed to the same occupation by two equivalent groups of students, one rating difficulty in the urban north and one rating difficulty in the urban south.

Looking just at the rank positions assigned to each occupation with respect to social difficulty in the north and south, we can see in Table 1 that only three of the occupations differ by as much as two ranks. The rank order of occupations appears to be very much the same regardless of whether

the students are thinking about social obstacles in the north or in the south. This is also seen in the fact that the correlations between the judgments of difficulty in the two regions is very high (.96 according to the males' and .94 according to the females' judgments). Thus, the social difficulty of various occupations, relative to each other, is judged very much the same way in the north and the south.

Nevertheless, when the mean judgment of each occupation's difficulty for a Negro is compared for the north and the south, we learn that almost all of the 135 occupations are judged to be significantly more difficult for a Negro to obtain in the south. In an absolute sense, then, these students think of 87 percent of the occupations as being harder to obtain in the south than in the north, even though the relative difficulty of the various occupations is very much the same in the two locales. Apparently the students have a standard set toward considering the north an easier place occupationally for Negroes. The occupations that are not significantly easier in the north simply do not differ in how difficult they are judged to be in the two locales.¹ It is not that they are easier in the south. In fact, not even one occupation is judged to be significantly easier in the south.

In summary, the students in this population consider opportunities to be generally greater in the north and social obstacles to be greater in the south. However, within this standard set toward opportunities and obstacles, they judge the difficulty of various occupations, relative to each other, in very much the same way in both north and south.

Since most of these students grew up in the Deep South and only a few have spent much time in the north, their belief that the north consistently

¹Most of the occupations which do not differ in the north-south comparison turn out to be ones that are fairly easy, relative to other occupations, for Negroes to obtain in both north and south.

presents fewer occupational difficulties for a Negro and their lack of differentiation about the relative opportunities in the north and the south probably result from limited knowledge of the opportunity structure in the north. It is interesting, for instance, that the students feel that teaching jobs are easier, in an absolute sense, to obtain in the north than in the south despite the preponderance of Negro teachers having jobs in the south. And it is even more interesting that the difficulty of obtaining a teaching position relative to other jobs is not judged differently for the two locales. The students do not seem to have a differentiated view about the job worlds of the north and the south. This raises questions about the way in which the students who do go north after college will cope with the realities of discrimination as well as opportunity in the northern job world. A great many opportunities, or at least an increasing number, will exist for these students in both the north and south. But a more differentiated view about what they are and where to find them would seem to be crucial if the job world is to be manipulated to the advantage of this generation of Negro college graduates.

Relationship Between Prestige and Difficulty of an Occupation

We have already commented on the interrelationships among these various occupational judgments in connection with sex differences in the correlations between desirability and difficulty judgments. But there are aspects of these interrelationships, apart from the question of sex differences, that are important to note. Of particular interest, from both a theoretical and a practical point of view, are the relationships between prestige judgments and two kinds of difficulty - the difficulty posed by high ability demands and the difficulty posed by social and discriminatory obstacles.

The relationship between prestige and difficulty is a critical hinge on which much of the achievement literature is based. Many motivational theorists

argue that the incentive value of an object, which can be considered the prestige attached to attaining it, is generally enhanced the more difficult it is to obtain. Atkinson (1957) explicitly builds this kind of assumption into his model for predicting achievement-relevant behaviors. This would mean, in the occupational area, that the incentive attached to attaining a given occupation is assumed to be greater the harder it is to attain.

Substantial evidence for this assumption comes from a study in which a large number of occupations were judged by a group of white college males.² In that study the prestige attributed to an occupation was used as a measure of its incentive value. The measure of difficulty of the occupation was the student's judgment of the percentage of people in their class whom they felt had the requisite ability for that occupation. Using these two measures, a correlation of .85 was found between the judged prestige and ability requirements of a large number of occupations. The most difficult occupations, those demanding the greatest ability, were found to be the most prestigious occupations, the easiest ones the least prestigious.

In the present study of Negro youth, we also find that occupational prestige and ability demands generally go together. This is illustrated in Table 1 by the fact that only a few occupations depart as much as three rank positions on the prestige and ability dimensions. And the actual correlations between these two sets of judgments is .76 for males and .65 for females. (See Table 2.) Although these correlations are not quite as high as the correlation reported in the study of white youth, they certainly support the assumption that the incentive attached to an occupation is higher the more difficult it is to attain - at least when difficulty is viewed in terms of the ability required for the occupation.

²The data come from a study by Mahone (1960) but are analyzed and reported by Crockett (1962).

In a Negro population, however, there is another kind of difficulty that is posed not by limited ability but by racial discrimination. Thus, there is the whole issue of what social difficulty has done to the incentive value of occupations. Has social difficulty operated in the same way as ability difficulty, increasing the incentive attached to difficult occupations? This is a crucial question for those who hope to encourage Negro youth to consider occupations which were previously closed to them, occupations with a long history of exclusion but which are now opening up for Negro graduates. The students are much more likely to consider such occupations if the history of difficulty has served to increase the incentive value of these socially difficult jobs. They are much less likely to consider them if this history has served to dampen or depress the incentive value of the socially difficult occupations.

The data indicate that the history of restricted opportunities may well have had a dampening effect. Unlike the difficulty that comes from the ability demands of a job, social difficulty does not show a clear relationship with the prestige of a job. In the first place, the correlations are not as high. Regardless of whether the difficulty judgment was made for the north or the south, the correlation between prestige and social difficulty of these occupations is only around .50. And contrary to what we found in inspecting Table 1 for the rank positions between prestige and ability difficulty, there are quite a few occupations that depart as much as three rank positions on the prestige and social difficulty dimensions. Looking at these occupations, we find two kinds of deviations from the usual relationship between prestige and difficulty. One type of exception has to do with occupations that are relatively prestigious despite being relatively easy to attain when social obstacles are used as the measure of difficulty. The other kind of exception

involves occupations that have relatively low prestige despite having relatively high social difficulty.

The occupations in Table 1 that fit the first kind of exception, those that are at least three ranks higher in prestige than in social difficulty, turn out to be those in which Negroes have traditionally achieved - doctor, dentist, lawyer, minister, professional sports, musician, leader of a jazz group, officer in the armed³ services, elementary school teacher, social worker, general college professor. These occupations might be considered prestigious not because of being difficult but rather because they have been easy or accessible to Negroes in the past.

The occupations that fit the other kind of exception, those that are at least three ranks lower in prestige than in social difficulty, include a large number of the business occupations. Therefore, the data indicate not only that few students in this population aspire to jobs in business but also that many business occupations are judged as being both relatively difficult for a Negro to obtain and rather low in prestige. The business area particularly seems to be one in which incentive value has been diminished rather than enhanced by difficulty. This highlights some of the problems that must be faced if more Negro graduates are to respond to the current recruitment efforts by the business sector of the economy. Not only do these students' views about business opportunities for Negroes need to be altered, but there is also a need to redress the effect of exclusion and unfamiliarity on the prestige they attach to performing many of these business roles.

³ Becoming an officer in the armed services is a more recent achievement among Negroes than performing these other occupational roles. Nevertheless, it is one that has been accessible to Negroes for a long enough time that these post World War II children could easily consider it a traditional area of achievement.

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CHAPTER V

SEX DIFFERENCES IN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Measurement of Occupational Aspiration

Up to this point we have been concerned with the content of students' choices and how they evaluate various occupations. The next few chapters will be focused on the level of aspiration¹ that is reflected by the students' choices. This brings up the problem of how to measure level of aspiration. Obviously, it implies some dimension on which the students' choices can be ordered such that some choices can be considered higher aspiration than others.

Most studies of level of occupational aspiration have used prestige of the occupational choice as the basis for differentiating high and low aspirants. Generally the North-Hatt prestige scale or gross census rank is used as the basis for assigning prestige scores to occupational choices. In this study, however, we have tried to differentiate high and low aspirants not only on the basis of prestige but also in terms of dimensions that should be increasingly important as Negro youth are encouraged to compete in a less discriminatory job market. For instance, we felt it was particularly important to analyze level of aspiration according to how nontraditional the students' choices are for Negroes in the United States. Knowing what kinds of students are already making nontraditional choices should facilitate assisting other students to consider new and unusual opportunities. Although the research

¹Motivational theorists are interested not only in level of aspiration but also in realism of aspiration. To have a realistic aspiration may be much more important and more indicative of an achievement orientation than to have exceptionally high aspiration. High aspiration may indicate avoidance of occupational challenge in the sense of aspiring so far beyond one's talents and abilities as to preclude a real test of self. The issue of realism is discussed in Chapter VIII.

literature provides leads about the factors that account for high prestige aspiration, it is not clear that these same factors would be helpful in explaining high aspiration with respect to nontraditionality or other characteristics of occupations.

The fact that student evaluations of several occupational characteristics were obtained provided a way to score the students' own choices on several dimensions in addition to prestige. The mean of each of the judgments made by the special sample used to evaluate occupations could be used to score the choices of all students in the general study.² For example, a desirability score of 2.5 for a particular occupation means that the students judging its desirability gave it an average rating of 2.5 on a five-point scale.

Using these scores, it has been possible to distinguish high and low aspirants not only according to the usual dimension of prestige but also according to the desirability and ability demands the students' choices are judged to have by their fellow students. The peer judgments of social difficulty were not used to score the students' own choices. Instead, it was possible to use an objective measure of how nontraditional (and in this sense, previously socially difficult for a Negro) the students' choices are. Each student's occupational choice was given a nontraditionality score by using the 1960 census breakdown of the percent Negro in that occupation. The occupations with the smallest proportion of Negroes in 1960 are the most nontraditional choices.

²Since the list of occupations that was judged by the special sample included all of the occupations given as their own choices by at least one percent of the students, most students' choices could be scored on these dimensions by using the mean judgments of the special sample evaluating occupations.

Questions Guiding the Analysis of Sex Differences in Occupational Aspiration

The analysis of sex differences has focused on three questions:

1. Do males' and females' occupational choices differ with respect to level of aspiration? Are these differences consistent across all of the four dimensions of aspiration?
2. Is the meaning of making a highly desirable choice in the eyes of like-sexed peers different for males and females?
3. To what extent are sex differences in the occupational choice process a function of general sex-role considerations rather than a reflection of issues of special relevance to a Negro population? What are the sex-role constraints on occupational aspirations?

Sex Differences in Level of Aspiration

The results show that the males have higher levels of aspiration on three of the four dimensions - prestige, ability demands, and nontraditionality of the occupational choices. (See Table 1.) This is true despite the fact that the males and females who participated in the occupational evaluation study did not differ in their judgments of occupations along these dimensions. The females agree with the males about what occupations are prestigious, demanding of ability and socially difficult for Negroes; they simply choose occupations for themselves that they agree are less prestigious and easier.

The results with respect to the fourth dimension - the desirability of the occupational choice - are less straightforward. It will be recalled (see Table IV-1) that males and females differ in their judgments of the desirability of many occupations. Because of this difference, each occupation was given two desirability scores - one as judged by males and one as judged by females. If the female desirability scores are applied to the females' choices and the male desirability scores to the males' choices, then

the males and females do not differ in how desirable their choices are. (See Table 1.)

In summary, although the males and females are picking jobs that are equally desirable in the eyes of like-sexed peers, the males aspire for jobs that are more prestigious, demanding of greater ability, and more nontraditional for Negroes than are the jobs chosen by the female students.

TABLE V-1
Sex Differences in Level of Occupational Aspiration

	Males <u>X</u>	Females <u>X</u>	<u>Probability</u>
<u>Prestige</u> the choice is judged to have by peers (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.0	2.3	.001
<u>Ability demands</u> the choice is judged to have by peers (7 point scale, 1 = high)	3.4	4.2	.001
<u>Desirability</u> of the choice to like-sexed peers (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	NS
<u>Nontraditionality</u> of the choice (mean percent Negro shown in the 1960 census for the occupations chosen by each sex)	3.2%	5.1%	.001

These results, showing males with higher occupational aspirations than females, differ from findings of other studies of the aspirations of Negro youth. A number of studies, both of students themselves and of their parents, indicate that Negro girls have higher educational and occupational aspirations than boys and that Negro parents have higher aspirations for daughters than for sons (Morgan, 1962; Sprey, 1962). But to our knowledge, all of the studies demonstrating higher female aspirations have been done with high school students. It is possible that these previous findings on sex differences in occupational aspirations are simply a function of differential educational aspirations at the high school level. Since a larger number of Negro

girls than boys aspire for college, and indeed go to college in somewhat larger numbers,³ it is understandable that the average job aspirations of girls at the high school level are also higher than are the aspirations of the boys. But it is not clear from the data of these previous studies that the girls would have higher occupational aspirations than the boys if one considered only the group that does aspire to go to college. If these studies had compared the occupational aspirations of the college-bound boys and girls, the high school data might not contradict the results from the present college study showing males instead of females with higher aspirations.

Sex Differences in the Meaning
of Choosing a Desirable Occupation

We have already indicated in Chapter IV that one of the ways the males and females differ in their judgments of occupations has to do with the relationship between the desirability of an occupation and its other qualities. The occupations that are highly desirable to the males are much more likely to be demanding of ability and at least somewhat more likely to be difficult for a Negro to obtain than those considered desirable by the girls. In judging occupations, the girls are more often satisfied with occupations that are not especially difficult in either sense.

This difference between the males and females is also illustrated in the intercorrelations among the various dimensions of the students' own choices. (See Table 2.) Indeed, sex differences in the meaning of a highly desirable occupation are even more striking when we look at the students' own choices

³ A number of people have commented on the disproportionate number of Negro girls in college, particularly in the predominantly Negro colleges. In the colleges included in this study, for instance, we find that females compose 57 percent of the whole population of students, although the institutions vary considerably in their sex ratios, with one school having 68 percent female and one only 32 percent female. Similarly, statistics from the Manpower Report to the President (1965) show that 60 percent of all bachelor's degrees conferred by predominantly Negro colleges go to females.

than we noted in their judgments of occupations. For the males, the choice of a desirable occupation also means that the choice is demanding of ability (correlation +.64), socially difficult (+.58) and nontraditional for a Negro (+.61). With the females' choices, however, it is not simply that desirability and these other characteristics are more weakly, but still positively, associated, as was the case with the relationship between their judgments of desirability and difficulty. (See Table IV-2.) Instead, the occupations the girls are choosing are ones (such as elementary school teacher and social worker) with such large discrepancies on these dimensions that the desirability of their actual choices bears a negative relationship to how difficult they are. Thus, the choice of an occupation that is highly desirable to like-sexed peers has an opposite, not just somewhat different, meaning for the males and females. For the females, it means a choice that is not demanding of ability (correlation -.31), not socially difficult (-.12) and likely to be traditional instead of nontraditional for Negroes (-.16).

TABLE V-2

Intercorrelations Among Several Dimensions of Occupational Aspiration That is Reflected by the Males' and Females' Own Choices

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
1. <u>Desirability</u> of the choice to like-sexed peers	1.00				
2. <u>Prestige</u> the choice is judged to have	+.89 (+.31)	1.00			
3. <u>Ability demands</u> the choice is judged to have	+.64 (-.31)	+.69 (+.51)	1.00		
4. <u>Social difficulty</u> the choice is judged to have for Negroes	+.58 (-.12)	+.52 (+.43)	+.67 (+.79)	1.00	
5. <u>Nontraditionality</u> of the choice (percent Negro in the chosen occupation by 1960)	+.61 (-.16)	+.54 (+.13)	+.57 (+.18)	+.68 (+.36)	1.00

If choices that are deemed desirable by like-sexed peers are considered "role-appropriate" choices, the picture emerges that for a girl to have high aspirations, to choose a nontraditional occupation or one demanding a great deal of ability, simultaneously means she is making an "inappropriate" choice for a woman. High aspiration in the occupational area seems to be inconsistent with femininity, or at least with girls' judgments of the desirable role for girls. On the other hand, aspiring for a difficult occupation or one that is nontraditional for Negroes is consistent with the way males judge what is desirable. This raises the possibility that the motivational determinants of high aspiration may be different for males and females, since, for females, high aspiration demands a willingness to counter the notion of what is the appropriate choice for one's sex role; for males, it does not. This question will be explored further in Chapter VII.

Sex-Role Constraints on Occupational Aspirations

In this study we were interested in many kinds of constraints on students' choices. The pattern of sex differences we have noted suggests that sex-role considerations provide a source of constraint on the girls, reducing their aspirations and perhaps restricting what they consider in the occupational decision-making process. The possibly constraining effect of sex-role considerations on the females can be seen not only in the sex-linked meaning of a desirable occupation but also in the responses the students gave to a number of questions regarding the decision-making process and the investment they have in the whole issue of their future occupational roles.⁴

⁴The probable importance of sex-role considerations is also illustrated in the content of many of the girls' choices. As can be seen in Table III-1, the particular occupations chosen with greatest frequency by the girls in this population are teacher and social worker. These are occupations which are disproportionately represented by females on a national basis. We also pointed out earlier that a much smaller proportion of the females than the males are

The decision-making process of the males and females is considerably different. (See Table V-3.) In the first place, when the students were asked to check all the occupations they had ever seriously considered among a long list of occupations, the girls check significantly fewer occupations. Furthermore, the occupations they have considered show a narrower range of prestige, ability and nontraditionality than is true of the males' considerations. Thus, it is not simply that the girls' have lower aspirations on these dimensions; it is also that their exploration of occupational possibilities is more restricted along these dimensions. Consistent with this is the fact that the girls are significantly more sure of what occupation they want to enter. They also decided earlier than the males. Thus, in all of these ways - making earlier decisions, veering little from those decisions, considering fewer as well as a narrower range of occupations - the girls appear to be less open and exploratory in the choice process.

These sex differences in the choice process are consistent with results from a number of studies of the occupational decision-making of white college students. The studies of white students also show that a smaller proportion of females than males make their choices after coming to college and that females consider a narrower range of occupations (Miller, 1959). In general, the college studies have shown that exposure to college results in fewer changes and new choices for females than for males.

choosing occupations in the science and math area. This is an area in which females are occupationally underrepresented on a national basis. Furthermore, even in the interest areas which are chosen by an equal proportion of both sexes (such as the medical and business areas), the particular choices the girls are making are traditional female jobs. In the medical area, for instance, almost all of the girls are choosing either to be registered nurses or physical-occupational therapists. In the business area, almost all of the girls are choosing to be either stenographers or teachers of commercial subjects.

TABLE V-3
Sex Differences in Decision Making About Occupational Choice

	Males <u>X</u>	Females <u>X</u>	P <u>probability</u>
Mean <u>number of occupations</u> the students checked as ever having " <u>seriously considered</u> "	4.12	2.24	.001
Mean of responses to the question " <u>How sure are you</u> about what occupation you want to get into after graduating from college or completing further training?" (5 point scale with 1 representing "very sure")	1.9	1.6	.001
Mean of responses to the question "How long have you known that this is the occupation you want to go into?" (6 point scale, 1 representing "sometime during grade school" and 6, "Since coming to college")	4.0	3.5	.001

Also congruent with studies of white students is the fact that the girls in this population seem to have less investment in the occupational area. (See Table V-4.) Although there are no sex differences in the importance of vocational goals for college, the males feel that career or occupation will be significantly more important as an area of life after college. This sex difference in the importance of career is not due to differential expectancies regarding how long the two sexes plan to work in the post-college world. In contrast to white students, these Negro male and female students do not differ in how long they plan to work in the occupation of their choice. But despite the fact that the girls project themselves into the working force for as long a period as the males, they attach less importance to career and have a less well developed conception of advancement in the occupation of their choice. The proportion of females who have never given any thought to what positions they expect to have five, ten, and twenty years after college is significantly larger than the proportion of males. And, among those who have thought about

TABLE V-4

Sex Differences in Investment Attached to the Occupational Role

	Males <u>X</u>	Females <u>X</u>	<u>Probability</u>
Mean importance of <u>vocational goals for college</u> (4 point scales, 4 = crucial importance)			
"Thinking through what occupation and career I want and developing some of the necessary skills"	3.4	3.4	NS
"Opportunity to get training for a better job than I could get otherwise"	3.3	3.3	NS
Mean importance that " <u>career or occupation</u> " will have <u>in life after college</u> (4 point scale, 4 = crucial importance)	3.5	3.0	.001
Mean of responses to question: " <u>How long do you see yourself working in this occupation?</u> " (4 point scale, 1 representing "just a short time, less than 5 years" and 4 representing "all my life")	3.3	3.2	NS
Average proportion who have never thought about what <u>position they expect to have in the chosen occupation</u> at any of three time periods: 5, 10 and 20 years after graduation	30%	45%	.001
Average proportion with a <u>fully developed time perspective about advancement</u> (proportion among those who have thought about positions in the future who give a position for each time period showing actual progression from one period to the next)	30%	14%	.001

this question, fewer females than males have a fully developed time perspective regarding advancement. The Negro girls may intend to work just as long as the males and, in this sense, show stronger work orientations than white girls; however, like white girls, they seem to approach work with greater restriction in choice, less concern with advancement, and lower investment in the question of career than is true of the males. Their approach to work seems to be one reflecting considerable influence of sex-role considerations in the expression of aspiration.

Summary of Sex Differences

The pattern of sex differences in occupational aspirations suggests certain constraints on choice that seem to derive more from sex-role considerations than anything tied to the racial situation. In fact, if we were to argue from the literature about the dominance of the Negro female, we would expect just the opposite of what we find. Instead of having higher aspirations, these Negro girls have lower aspirations than the males. They are choosing jobs that are less prestigious, demanding of less ability and more traditional for Negroes. Instead of defining desirable jobs in terms of high ability demands as the males do, they consider the easier jobs the most desirable or attractive to them.

This picture is similar to what the studies of white college students indicate about male and female occupational aspirations. Except for the fact that the Negro girls intend to work just as long as the Negro males, and in this sense show stronger work orientations than white college girls, the Negro girls in this study seem to reflect the orientation to the work world held by women generally. Like other females, they show greater constriction in what occupations they ever considered, decided what they wanted to do earlier, and are currently more sure of their choices than is true of the males. They

attach less importance than the males to career as an area of life after college and have less concern with advancement in the occupations they have chosen. In short, almost everything we have learned about the sex differences in occupational aspiration points to sex-role considerations producing constraints on the Negro girls' choices just as they do on the choices made by white girls in college.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES IN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Previous Research

Considerable evidence exists by now that young people's educational and vocational aspirations are affected by the class situation in which they grow up. A number of studies of both parents' aspirations for their children (Morgan, 1962; Rosen, 1959), and young people's own aspirations (Wilson, 1959; Kahl, 1953; Sewell, 1957; Bennett and Gist, 1964) have demonstrated class differences in aspirations. These studies indicate that such class factors as high parental education, high status jobs, and high family income serve to heighten the level of children's occupational and educational aspirations.

The effects of these class characteristics are found in studies of both Negro and white populations (Morgan, 1962; Rosen, 1959). Indeed, one study of mothers' vocational aspirations for their sons indicates not only that class differences hold in both Negro and white populations but also that social class explains more of the variance in aspirations than either race or ethnicity (Rosen, 1959). A more recent study which involves only a restricted range of class backgrounds shows the usual class differences in the aspirations held by two groups of so-called "lower class" Negro mothers. The relatively "high status" mothers in this restricted population, those with nine or more years of education and six or fewer children, held significantly higher aspirations for their children than did the "low status" mothers who had less than nine years of education and seven or more children (Bell, 1965).

What seems fairly clear from previous research is that class background does affect aspirations; that the class effects seem to hold in many subgroups of the population; that differences in aspirations are better accounted for

by class differences than by race or ethnicity; and that these differences hold even within a restricted range of class background - relative differences in the educational attainments of mothers from an otherwise homogeneously "lower-class" background differentiate these mothers' aspirations for their children.

Theoretical Issues Explored in This Study

Despite this fairly widespread agreement regarding the demonstration of class effects, there are several issues in the research on class conditioning of aspiration that remain problematic. In the first place, very little is known about the kinds of aspiration that may be tied to class differences. Most of the research on class differences in occupational aspiration has treated level of aspiration strictly in terms of an implied dimension of prestige. Therefore, it is unclear from previous research whether high parental education, occupational status, and family income would also enhance other kinds of aspiration that may be increasingly important as opportunities expand for Negro youth. For instance, should we expect high status backgrounds to encourage aspiration for difficult jobs which demand high ability? Or, is it possible that the concern with status in such backgrounds might result in at least a relatively greater preoccupation with prestige than with ability or personal challenge in choosing an occupation? Should we expect high status homes to facilitate aspiration for jobs which were heretofore closed to Negroes, the unusual and nontraditional jobs? Or is it possible that such backgrounds may actually discourage choices that, in being rare and nontraditional for Negroes, may be ambiguous regarding prestige? One of the few studies which has examined class differences in dimensions other than occupational prestige suggests that this may be true. That study, which explored the effects of class on aspiration for nontraditional jobs, found that Negro college students who self-identified as "middle class" were less likely than

those identifying as "working class" to choose nontraditional occupations (Littig, 1966). So at least this one study suggests that the heightening effect of high status backgrounds may not generalize to all kinds of occupational aspirations; indeed, such backgrounds may actually restrict choices to conventional areas of achievement among Negroes.

Previous research also leaves considerable ambiguity about the way in which class operates to produce differences in aspiration. One view asserts that these differences are best explained as a function of different motives and values regarding achievement that arise out of class differences in early socialization. Another view, also stressing the importance of socialization experiences, suggests that parents with different economic and educational resources may not differ in the values they hold or attempt to develop in their children but rather in their power to perform effective socialization. Parents with limited economic and educational resources cannot easily provide role models for expressing the values they hold; they may not be able to influence directly the choices their children are making because they, themselves, lack knowledge and experience with high-aspirant roles in society. Another view stresses the implications of class-related conditions of life that are broader than the differential experiences and learning provided by the family. In this view, the diminished aspirations of lower class youth result from conditioning perceptions of opportunity so as to reduce their expectancies of success.

Of course, each of these views may represent a partial truth. Class may operate on aspirations through all of these intervening conditions - different motives and values, different amounts of parental influence, and different assessments of expectancies. We have already reported elsewhere how one class indicator, family income, relates to these three possible mediators. That analysis indicates that social class, as represented by family income, seems

to affect aspirations primarily by affecting the amount of influence the parents exert in the child's educational and occupational decision-making and by conditioning the students' expectancies of success and failure. In contrast, practically no income differences were found in the students' achievement-relevant motives and values. So, at least in this population, the class effects that may be found in aspiration ought to be reflected in ways other than value differences arising out of early socialization. The link between class and aspiration that will be explored in this chapter concerns the possible importance of direct parental influence in accounting for class differences in aspiration.

Research Questions

The specific research questions guiding the analysis of class relationships with aspiration are as follows:

1. What is the relationship between the student's class background and the level of his occupational aspiration? How does class background affect all of the dimensions of aspiration we are examining in this study?
2. How does class background affect parental influence patterns? How do these parental influence patterns, in turn, affect aspirations?

Measures of Social Class Indicators

The results discussed below concern the relationships between occupational aspiration and four indicators of social class.¹

¹Parents' occupations were not used as class indicators because a relatively large number of students either gave no occupational information or their responses were uncodable. This was much less true with respect to information about parents' education and family income. Furthermore, since education and occupation are highly correlated (see Table 1), they should bear similar relationships to occupational aspirations. Therefore, in the analyses of the way the separate class indicators relate to occupational aspirations, we decided it would be sufficient to just use parental education on which a larger N was available.

Two indicators concern parental education, mother's and father's education being considered separately. The students were asked to check, among alternatives ranging from less than sixth grade up to graduate work beyond the master's degree, how much education each of their parents had had. They were also asked to describe any other education or training each parent had obtained that was not covered in the alternatives listed. This additional information was used by coders to clarify responses to the structured alternatives. Six levels of education are used for mother's education and father's education: eighth grade or less, some high school, completion of high school, some college, college degree, and some post-college work.

A third class indicator has to do with family income. Students were asked to check a monthly income figure they believed represented the total family income. If both parents were working, this total figure was to represent the income contributed by both. Four income levels are used for analysis purposes: families earning less than \$2,400 a year, those earning between \$2,400 and \$3,599, those earning between \$3,600 and \$5,999, and those with \$6,000 or more.

A fourth indicator is the intactness of the home. Students were asked a number of questions about family structure. Two had to do with whether their parents were currently living and their current marital status. Another concerned who "reared" the student up to the high school period. The analyses reported below are based on three types of family structures: intact homes in which the parents are living together and responsible for rearing the student up to the high school period; female-dominated households in which the parents are separated or divorced and the mother, alone or in combination with other females, is responsible for rearing the student; and all other kinds of family structures that do not clearly fall into one of these two categories.

TABLE VI-1

Intercorrelations Among the Various Class Indicators

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
1. Mother's education	1.00					
2. Mother's occupation (North-Hatt prestige)	.73 (.72)	1.00				
3. Father's education	.63 (.58)	.54 (.45)	1.00			
4. Father's occupation (North-Hatt prestige)	.48 (.36)	.50 (.37)	.63 (.51)	1.00		
5. Family income	.42 (.38)	.42 (.33)	.34 (.28)	.30 (.23)	1.00	
6. Intactness of the home	.08 (.01)	.10 (.02)	.02 (.01)	.07 (.03)	.19 (.10)	1.00

Correlations for the females are given in parentheses.

Results

Differences in the Results for Freshmen and Seniors

Before turning to specific results, it is important to point out that the relationships between these social class indicators and the several dimensions of occupational aspiration are conditioned by how long the student had been in college. When we control for the student's year in college, social class differences in aspiration are found only among freshmen, not among seniors. This is true for both the males and the females. In other words, the data suggest that social class seems to operate only at the point when family background is most salient to the students - at the point of leaving home. College seems to have the effect of minimizing class differences so that, by the senior year, it is almost impossible to differentiate any dimension of aspiration according to the class backgrounds of the students. It should be kept in mind, therefore, that the class differences reported below apply only to the freshmen students measured at the point of entering college.

Direct Effects of Social Class on Level of Occupational Aspiration

Among the males, we find a positive relationship between father's education and both the prestige and ability demands of the occupational choice. (See Table 2 for a summary of the relationships between all class indices and all dimensions of aspiration for the freshmen males.) Although father's education bears no relationship to the nontraditionality of the choices of the general population of male freshmen, it is negatively related to nontraditionality among those males who are choosing a highly prestigious occupation. In other words, if the son's choice is highly prestigious, the fact of having a father with high educational attainments increases the likelihood that the choice will also be traditional instead of nontraditional for Negroes. (See Table 3.) Mother's education and family income operate much as father's education. Growing up in a family where the mother had high education or in a family with high income encourages both prestige aspiration and high ability choices in the son. And, like father's education, high education in the mother encourages traditional choices so long as they are also highly prestigious. The only class indicator which seems to be unimportant for the males is intactness of the home. It does not relate to any dimension of the males' occupational aspirations.

Among the females, the effect of having a father with high education is to encourage choices that are highly prestigious and demanding of ability. However, this is the only class characteristic that serves to encourage demanding and prestigious choices among the girls. (See Table 4 for a summary of the relationships between all class indices and all dimensions of aspiration for the freshmen females.) All of the other class indicators seem to encourage conventional choices that are considered desirable to female peers but unlikely to be highly prestigious or demanding of high ability. For

TABLE VI-2

Class Differences in Level of the
Freshmen Males' Occupational Aspirations

	2a. Family Income				2b. Intactness of the Home	
	High Income (\$6,000+)	Medium High	Medium Low	Low Income (Less Than \$2,400)	Intact Homes	Homes With a Female Head
<u>Mean Level of:</u>						
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.7	2.9	3.2	2.8	2.7
	F significant at .05				F <u>not</u> significant	
<u>Ability Demands</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.9	2.9	3.3	2.9	2.7
	F significant at .01				F <u>not</u> significant	
<u>Nontraditonality</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.9	3.0	2.9	3.1	2.8	2.7
	F <u>not</u> significant				F <u>not</u> significant	

TABLE VI-3
Relationship Between Parents' Education and Nontraditionality of
Son's Occupational Choice, Controlling for Prestige of the Choice

	Males Whose Choices are High ¹ Prestige		Males Whose Choices are Low ² Prestige	
	High Nontra- ditionality	Low Nontra- ditionality	High Nontra- ditionality	Low Nontra- ditionality
Mean Level of Fathers' Educational Attainments (6 point scale, 1 = lowest education and 6 = highest)	2.7	3.2	2.2	2.4
	t significant at <u>.025</u>		t <u>not</u> significant	
Mean Level of Mothers' Educational Attainments	3.0	3.4	2.6	2.5
	t significant at <u>.025</u>		t <u>not</u> significant	

¹High aspiration on each dimension is defined as the upper 40 percent of all males.

²Low aspiration on each dimension is defined as the bottom 40 percent.

instance, growing up in a family with high income encourages the choice of an occupation that is judged to be highly desirable by female peers but simultaneously relatively low in ability demands and prestige. Intactness of the home also seems to encourage conventional choices among the girls. Girls who grew up in intact homes, in contrast to homes with a female head of the family, are more likely to choose desirable occupations but less likely to choose ones that are prestigious or demanding of high ability. Although mother's education bears no relationship to any dimension except ability demands of the daughter's choice, the fact that the highest ability aspirations are found among girls whose mothers have only high school education instead of those with at least some college education supports the view that most high status characteristics seem to encourage conventional but undemanding occupational aspirations for girls.

Indirect Effects of Social Class Operating Through Parental Influence

Measurement of Parental Influence

Students were asked about the influence their parents had had in two major decisions bearing on aspirations. One has to do with the decision to go to college. Students were asked if anyone "especially encouraged" them to go to college. Among those who felt someone had been influential (76 percent of the population), it was possible to code for the mention of different family members and a variety of nonfamily figures. In this chapter, we are interested in how social class relates to the mention of "father alone," "both parents" and "mother alone." The other decision had to do specifically with the student's occupational choice. Students were asked to rate, on a four-point scale, how important each parent had been in their decisions of what occupation to enter.

TABLE VI-4

Class Differences in Level of the
Freshmen Females' Occupational Aspirations

	4a. Family Income				4b. Intactness of the Home			
	High Income (\$6,000+)	Medium High	Medium Low	Low Income (Less than \$2,400)	Intact Homes	Homes With a Female Head		
<u>Mean Level of:</u>								
<u>Prestige</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.3		
	F <u>not</u> significant				F significant at .001			
<u>Ability Demands</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.3	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.4		
	F <u>not</u> significant				F significant at .05			
<u>Desirability to Other Girls</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.4	2.8	2.8	2.4	2.6		
	F significant at .01				F significant at .05			
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5		
	F <u>not</u> significant				F <u>not</u> significant			
	4c. Fathers' Education				4d. Mothers' Education			
	8th Grade or Less	At Least Some High School	At Least Some College	At Least Some Post- College Work	8th Grade or Less	At Least Some High School	At Least Some College	At Least Some Post- College Work
<u>Mean Level of:</u>								
<u>Prestige</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.5	2.3	1.9	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.5
	F significant at .05				F <u>not</u> significant			
<u>Ability Demands</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.4	2.3	1.8	2.7	2.2	2.5	2.5
	F significant at .05				F significant at .05			
<u>Desirability to Other Girls</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.8	2.8	3.0	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.9
	F <u>not</u> significant				F <u>not</u> significant			
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.4
	F <u>not</u> significant				F <u>not</u> significant			

Relationships Between Social Class and Amount of Parental Influence

In turning to whether social class operates through patterns of parental influence to produce these effects on aspirations, we are interested first in whether there is any evidence that class does condition the parents' influence on the student. Does the amount of influence the student feels his parents have had in his decision to go to college and the decision of what occupation to enter depend on the student's social class background?

Before looking at the class determinants of parental influence, we might comment that, on the whole, mothers are more important than fathers in both of these decisions. This is true for both sexes and all social class groups. (See Table 5.) Regardless of sex or social class background of the student, mother is mentioned more frequently than father as the person who especially encouraged the decision to go to college. Similarly, regardless of sex or social class background, the average importance the mother is reported to have in the student's occupational decision is higher than that reported for the father.

Despite the fact that mothers are generally more influential than fathers, the results on class differences indicate that the influence of each parent is affected by the social class of the family. The class effects on the role played by the father are very consistent. All of the social class indicators differentiate how important the father is considered to have been in both of these decisions.² His influence is greater the higher the family income, the

²In the results regarding the father's influence in the student's decision to go to college, the father is usually mentioned in addition to, not instead of, the mother. Because very few students mentioned "father alone" as the person who encouraged them to go to college, that code was combined with the mention of "both parents" to provide a code for any mention of the father.

TABLE VI-5

Relative Importance of Father and Mother in Students' College and Occupational Decisions

Sex	5a. Comparison of the proportion ¹ mentioning father vs. mother as the person most encouraging the decision to go to college				5b. Comparison of how important father and mother are reported to have been in the students choice of an occupation ²	
	Mentioning "Father Alone"	Mentioning "Mother Alone"	Mentioning "Both Parents"	Mean Importance ² of Father	Mean Importance ² of Mother	
<u>Income as an Indicator</u> <u>of Social Class.</u>						
High (\$6,000+)	8%	30%	30%	2.1	2.6	
Medium High	3	26	33	2.0	2.6	
Medium Low	1	24	28	1.8	2.1	
Low (less than \$2,400)	2	27	15	1.7	2.3	
Males	5%	33%	33%	2.0	2.4	
Females	3%	34%	41%	1.9	2.5	

¹These percents do not add to 100 percent. Some students, of course, mentioned either other family members or some nonfamily figure.

²Importance is rated on a four-point scale, 4 representing "crucial" importance.

higher the education of both parents, and the more intact the home.³ (See Table 6.) The class effects on the mother's role in these decisions are less sharp. Intactness of the home is the primary differentiator of her role in the student's decision to go to college; family income and the amount of her own education are the major determinants of her importance in the student's occupational choice process. (See Table 7.)

In summary, we find that mothers are more important than fathers for both males and females in both the decision to go to college and the decision of what occupation to enter. Furthermore, mother's influence is somewhat less tied to class background than is the father's influence. The role of the father in both of these decisions bearing on aspirations is quite consistently related to all of the social class indicators.

³The question of whether family income plays a role over and beyond that of family structure in explaining the influence of the father and other family members is of considerable interest these days. Heightened attention has been given recently to the motivational significance of family structure, especially to the negative implications of growing up in a nonintact, female-dominated family. Since family income and family structure are related and both relate to the role of the father in encouraging the decision to go to college, it is possible that the income differences we have noted are largely the effects of family structure. However, if family income differentiates the role of the father even when we control for intactness of the family, certain implications are raised about the efficacy of attempting to modify the income situation itself.

This question was examined in a paper by Gurin and Epps (1966). Analysis of data from this study show that family income does differentiate how important the father is in the student's decision to go to college in both intact and female-headed households. Looking just at the intact families, we find that the "father alone" or "both parents" are mentioned less frequently the lower the family income. Thus, despite the fact that the father is present in the home in all income groups, he carries less influence in the decision to go to college the lower the family income. Looking just at the group who were reared in a female-headed household, we see the striking corollary that even when the father is not present in the home, a more adequate family income seems to make it possible for him to play a more influential role in the college decision. Our data make it very clear that family income does play a role over and beyond the role played by family structure itself.

TABLE VI-6

Class Differences in Father's Influence on the Decision
To Go To College and Choice of Occupation - All Students

	6a. Family Income				6b. Intactness of the Home		
	High Income (\$6,000+)	Medium High	Medium Low	Low Income (Less Than \$2,400)	Reared by Both Parents	Reared in Female- Headed Household	Reared in Other Family
<u>Father's Influence in College Decision</u>							
Percent mentioning "Father alone" or "Both parents"	38%	38%	29%	17%	40%	7%	14%
Percent not mentioning	62	62	71	83	60	93	86
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	X ² significant at .001				X ² significant at .001		
<u>Rating of Father's Influence in Choice of Occupation</u>							
Not very important	39%	43%	50%	55%	38%	73%	54%
Fairly important	24	25	23	20	26	13	18
Very important	24	24	20	17	26	8	20
Crucially important	13	8	7	8	11	6	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(1,382)	(921)	(476)	(528)	(2,709)	(570)	(296)
	X ² significant at .001				X ² significant at .001		

	6c. Father's Education						6d. Mother's Education					
	8th Grade or Less	Some High School	Com- pleted High School	Some Col- lege	Col- lege De- gree	Post- Col- lege Work	8th Grade or Less	Some High School	Com- pleted High School	Some Col- lege	Col- lege De- gree	Post- Col- lege Work
<u>Father's Influence in College Decision</u>												
Percent mentioning "Father alone" or "Both parents"	27%	38%	38%	54%	50%	53%	25%	29%	35%	36%	42%	44%
Percent not mentioning	73	62	62	46	50	47	75	71	65	64	58	56
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	X ² significant at .001						X ² significant at .001					
<u>Rating of Father's Influence in Choice of Occupation</u>												
Not very important	48%	40%	39%	41%	33%	35%	55%	42%	43%	50%	39%	39%
Fairly important	23	25	24	23	26	19	20	26	23	23	22	24
Very important	21	25	24	24	24	29	18	24	22	17	26	23
Crucially important	18	10	13	12	17	17	7	8	12	10	13	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(1,023)	(591)	(593)	(169)	(238)	(196)	(721)	(760)	(769)	(259)	(453)	(191)
	X ² significant at .001						X ² significant at .001					

TABLE VI-7

Class Differences in Mother's Influence on the Decision
To Go To College and Choice of Occupation - All Students

	7a. Family Income				7b. Intactness of the Home		
	High Income (\$6,000+)	Medium High	Medium Low	Low Income (Less Than \$2,400)	Reared by Both Parents	Reared in Female- Headed Household	Reared in Other Family
<u>Mother's Influence in College Decision</u>							
Percent mentioning "Mother alone"	27%	24%	26%	30%	23%	52%	13%
Percent not mentioning	73	76	74	70	77	48	87
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	X^2 not significant				X^2 significant at .001		
<u>Rating of Mother's Influence in Choice of Occupation</u>							
Not very important	23%	29%	32%	28%	27%	23%	32%
Fairly important	23	25	24	23	24	21	20
Very important	34	30	30	31	32	34	30
Crucially important	20	16	14	18	17	22	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(1,382)	(921)	(476)	(528)	(2,709)	(570)	(296)
	X^2 significant at .01				X^2 not significant		

	7c. Father's Education						7d. Mother's Education					
	8th Grade or Less	Some High School	Com- pleted High School	Some Col- lege	Col- lege De- gree	Post- Col- lege Work	8th Grade or Less	Some High School	Com- pleted High School	Some Col- lege	Col- lege De- gree	Post- Col- lege Work
<u>Mother's Influence in College Decision</u>												
Percent mentioning "Mother alone"	24%	24%	28%	26%	24%	17%	23%	25%	28%	31%	23%	27%
Percent not mentioning	76	76	72	74	76	83	77	75	72	69	77	73
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	X^2 not significant						X^2 not significant					
<u>Rating of Mother's Influence in Choice of Occupation</u>												
Not very important	32%	28%	23%	26%	23%	27%	37%	25%	25%	26%	21%	24%
Fairly important	23	20	26	23	23	24	23	24	23	22	22	22
Very important	29	35	31	32	34	29	27	34	32	35	32	33
Crucially important	16	17	20	19	20	20	13	17	20	17	25	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(1,023)	(591)	(593)	(169)	(238)	(196)	(721)	(760)	(769)	(259)	(453)	(191)
	X^2 not significant						X^2 significant at .001					

Relationships Between Parental Influence and the Students' Occupational Aspirations

The next question of interest is whether the amount of influence the parents have had in these decisions is systematically related to the level of aspiration represented by the student's occupational choice. The results indicate that the class-tied influence of the father and the somewhat less class-tied influence of the mother do affect both the males' and the females' occupational aspirations. As is true of the direct effects of social class, these indirect effects are also important primarily at the freshman level. Furthermore, the pattern of relationships between parental influence and the different dimensions of aspiration support a causal role for parental influence as a mediator between class background and student aspirations. The direct effects of class and the indirect effects through parental influence are very much the same.

Among the males, high parental influence in both types of decisions seems to enhance prestige and ability aspirations. (See Table 8.) On the other hand, parental influence in the occupational choice process is actually negatively related to the nontraditionality of the choice. The more crucial the son feels his mother has been in the occupational decision, the more likely it is that his choice will be prestigious and demanding of ability but traditional instead of nontraditional for Negroes. Similarly, as the reported influence of the father increases, the likelihood of choosing an occupation that is prestigious and difficult increases, while the likelihood of aspiring to a nontraditional job decreases. Although most of these relationships between parental influence and aspiration hold only for freshmen, the negative effects of mother's and father's influence on nontraditionality of the son's choice persists even at the senior level of college. It is the one impact of parental influence that persists in the face of the general tendency for the college experience to vitiate the effects of class differences on aspiration.

TABLE VI-8

Relationships Between Parental Influence and Son's Occupational Aspirations - Freshmen Males

Mean Level of:	8a. Influence in the Decision To Go To College		
	"Father Alone"	or "Both Parents"	Someone Else
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6		3.0
	F significant at .01		
<u>Ability Demands</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6		3.0
	F significant at .01		
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.8		2.8
	F not significant		

Mean Level of:	8b. Importance of Parents in Decision of What Occupation to Enter					
	Importance of Father			Importance of Mother		
	Crucial	Very	Fairly	Crucial	Very	Fairly
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	3.0	3.1	2.6	2.5
	F significant at .01				F significant at .001	
<u>Ability Demands</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.8	3.2	2.9	2.6	2.5
	F significant at .05				F significant at .001	
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.5	3.3	3.0
	F significant at .001				F significant at .001	

TABLE VI-9

Relationships Between Parental Influence and Daughter's Occupational Aspirations - Freshmen Girls

Mean Level of:	9a. Influence in the Decision To Go To College		
	"Father Alone"	or "Both Parents"	Someone Else
<u>Prestige</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.5	
	F not significant		
<u>Ability Demands</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.2	
	F significant at .001		
<u>Desirability to Other Girls</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.9	
	F significant at .001		

Mean Level of:	9b. Importance of Parents in Decision of What Occupation to Enter					
	Importance of Mother		Importance of Father			
	Crucial	Very Fairly	Not Too	Crucial	Very Fairly	Not Too
<u>Prestige</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.3
	F significant at .05		F significant at .05			
<u>Ability Demands</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.6	2.3
	F significant at .05		F significant at .05			
<u>Desirability to Other Girls</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.7
	F significant at .05		F not significant			

Among the females, the primary effect of parental influence in the occupational choice process is the encouragement of choices that are desirable in the eyes of female peers. They are choices that are simultaneously likely to be relatively low in prestige and ability demands. This is particularly true with respect to the mother's influence. (See Table 9.) The greater the importance the daughter feels her mother has had in her occupational choice, the more likely it is that her choice will be highly desirable in the eyes of female peers but relatively low in prestige and not demanding of ability. Father's influence in the occupational choice process is not related to how desirable the daughter's choice is. Like mother's influence, however, father's influence is negatively related to both the prestige and ability demands of the girls' choices.

Summary of the Relationships Between
Social Class and Occupational Aspirations

Social class affects student aspirations directly as well as indirectly through class-tied parental influence patterns. Its direct and indirect effects are seen, however, only with the freshman students at the point of entering college, a time when family background is especially salient to students. By the time students are seniors, most of the class differences and effects of parental influence on students' occupational aspirations have disappeared. The major class effect that does hold for seniors is the negative effect that strong parental influence in the student's choice process has on how nontraditional the males' choices are.

At the point of maximal influence of class background, when the students are just entering college, we find a very consistent picture regarding the way in which the direct and indirect effects of social class operate. High status parents, those with higher incomes and higher education, as well as those who have had the greatest influence on their children, are likely to have sons

who choose occupations that are prestigious and highly demanding of ability but ones that are traditional instead of nontraditional for Negroes. The major effect of high status families on the girls is to encourage the choice of highly desirable occupations. Since occupations judged to be desirable by girls are what we might think of as "role-appropriate" choices, we have some evidence that comfortable families produce girls with conventional female role aspirations. If we add to this the fact that growing up in an intact family actually discourages prestige and ability aspirations among the girls and the fact that high parental influence similarly serves to lower aspirations for prestigious and difficult jobs, we see that the combined effects of these class and family influence variables is the encouragement of conventional female aspirations.⁴

⁴ Although amount of mother's influence in the occupational choice process is not related to intactness of the family, we speculated that the direction or kind of influence she exerts might be different in nonintact and intact homes. Normally, mother's influence discourages prestige and ability aspirations in the daughter. We learned, however, that girls who were reared by mother alone are more likely than those reared by both parents to choose occupations that are prestigious and demanding of high ability. (See Table 4.) In other words, where mothers are responsible for raising the family alone, the daughters are more likely to choose unconventional jobs for females, ones that are prestigious and hard. Could the explanation for this come from opposing types of influence being exerted by mothers in female-headed households and in intact families, encouraging unconventional aspirations in the former and role-appropriate, undemanding aspirations in the latter?

This possibility was examined by relating amount of mother's influence to all dimensions of the girls' occupational aspirations within nonintact and intact families separately. Contrary to what we expected, mother's influence in the nonintact families is, if anything, even more dampening of ability aspirations than it is in the intact families. (See Table 10.)

The fact that girls reared by mother alone hold unconventional occupational aspirations is apparently not explained by the direct influence of the mother. Perhaps, it is more the fact of having a model who had to be the primary breadwinner that may encourage girls to think of their own future occupational roles in unconventional terms. Instead of looking at the occupational area as secondary to home and family, they may have come to consider their choices as "careers" in much the way males do, thereby aspiring to hard and prestigious occupations instead of desirable and conventional choices that would fit with a primary emphasis on home and family.

Relationship Between Mother's Influence in Daughter's Occupational Choice and Level of Ability Demands Represented by the Choice, Controlling for Intractness of the Home

		Importance of Mother							
		Intact Homes			Female-Headed Homes				
		Crucially Important	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Too Important	Crucially Important	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Too Important
2.7		2.7	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.1

F significant at .01

F significant at .001

With respect to both sexes, then, the high status effect seems to be the encouragement of conventional choices. In the case of sons, it is the encouragement of choices that are prestigious and demanding of ability but traditional instead of nontraditional for Negroes. In the case of daughters, it is the encouragement of occupations that are judged to be highly desirable by girls but not demanding of ability, in short, occupations that are fairly conventional for females.

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CHAPTER VII

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS UNDERLYING THE STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Research on Motivation and Aspiration

The motivational framework utilized in this study of aspiration distinguishes between resultant motivation, which is the actual goal to which the person aspires, and several psychological components of motivation that together produce the resultant motivation. In this framework, individual differences in level of aspiration are the phenomena to be explained. The explanatory variables are these components of motivation. Choice of the particular components to be used in this study was influenced by the work of "situational" theorists of motivation.

One component considered to be an important motivational determinant of differences in level of aspiration is the latent motive. The latent motive is a generalized disposition to approach or avoid a class of objects. Approach motives can be thought of as positive motivational forces and avoidance motives as negative forces. The approach motive that has been given the most attention in studies of occupational aspirations is the achievement motive (the disposition to strive for success in competition with some standard of excellence). The most frequently studied avoidance motive is fear of failure (the disposition to avoid failure in achievement-relevant situations). The achievement motive has been found to relate positively to actual occupational achievements (Morgan, 1962; Nuttal, 1964), to occupational mobility (Crockett, 1962), and to aspirations for prestigious occupations (Burnstein, 1963). Conversely, fear of failure is associated with avoidance of occupational challenge both in the sense of aspiring to less prestigious occupations (Burnstein, 1963) and in having unrealistic occupational aspirations (Mahone,

1960, Morris, 1964). To aspire for an occupation which is well above or below one's ability is a very good way to avoid the intermediate risk or test of self that arouses anxiety in people with high fear of failure.

The positive and negative achievement motives, however, are not considered sufficient, in and of themselves, to produce resultant motivation - in this case, high levels of occupational aspiration. The person with high need for achievement and low fear of failure may be disposed to try for a high status job but, for reasons of low confidence about his ability or perception of limited opportunities, may lack the expectation that he can achieve his goal. Low expectancies of success will reduce level of aspiration even among people with high motive levels. Two types of expectancies have been distinguished: (1) the specific expectancy attached to achieving a specific goal in one's current life situation, and (2) a generalized expectancy growing out of one's history of previous experiences with success and failure. The generalized expectancy should be particularly important in setting aspirations that have to do with unfamiliar settings and roles for which the person has not had much anticipatory practice or socialization. In such cases, a person with a low generalized expectancy of success is likely to express low aspirations, since he lacks experience with the specific goal in question that might counter the conclusions he has drawn from earlier successes and failures. People with low generalized expectancies of success are sometimes described as lacking a sense of mastery (Strodtbeck, 1958), sometimes as having a belief in external control (Rotter, 1962, 1966), and sometimes as having a sense of powerlessness (Dean, 1961).

One of the frequently used measures of the generalized expectancy comes from Strodtbeck achievement-values scale. In a factor analysis of the scale, Strodtbeck found one factor which includes items dealing with beliefs in the possibility of rational manipulation of the environment. This belief in

mastery has been found to be positively related to achieved socioeconomic status (Strodtbeck, 1958), educational aspirations (Rosen, 1956), and aspiration for prestigious occupations (Liberty, et al., 1964).

Another measure of the generalized expectancy is the Internal-External Control scale developed by Liverant, Rotter, Crowne, and Seeman (1958). This scale involves a number of pairs of statements, one in each pair being an "internal" item (the belief that what happens in life is the result of one's own skill or ability), the other an "external" item (the belief that success or failure is determined by factors such as fate, luck, or chance). In studies using this scale, internal control has been found to be positively associated with heightened occupational aspirations (Liberty, et al., 1964).

Motivational Issues in the Study of Negro Students' Aspirations

These studies lend substantial support to the assumption that motive and expectancy factors are both important in accounting for the strength of motivation that is reflected by level of occupational aspiration. Nevertheless, they leave unresolved a number of issues that are important in understanding the occupational aspirations of Negro college youth.

In the first place, since most of these results are based on studies with white samples, it is not at all clear whether these same motivational characteristics would relate to the occupational aspirations of Negro students. Although some studies have compared Negro and white populations with respect to their aspirations and have also compared them on motivational characteristics such as need for achievement and fear of failure, most of the research on the relationship between these characteristics and aspirations has been restricted to white populations, particularly to white college men. Very few studies have examined the motivational determinants of aspiration within a Negro population.

Secondly, even if most of these characteristics do help differentiate high and low aspirants, there is also the possibility that certain of these characteristics might assume heightened importance in a Negro population. For instance, expectancy factors should be unusually important in a population with a history of restricted opportunities. When a person's position in the social structure assures him of broad opportunities and facilitates access to his desired goals, his achievement values and motives may be the predominant motivational determinants of how successful he is. But a Negro's relationship to the social structure should encourage the predominance of expectancy factors. Whatever his motives and values, a Negro youth must be more concerned with expectancy assessments than his white counterparts, particularly those from economically comfortable backgrounds. Not only must he assess his chances for success in terms of his own abilities and skills, he must also make assessments about the social opportunities and obstacles in the path he wishes to travel. He may make faulty assessments. He may overestimate the difficulties, judging obstacles to be so sizable as to kill further striving; he may underestimate or even deny that there are any social hurdles to be overcome; or he may make realistic assessments that allow him to maximize opportunities and cope effectively with the difficulties that still persist. But, however he evaluates the social world, the fact that it must be confronted should accentuate the role of expectancy factors in his motivational dynamics.

Apart from the issue of how the traditional motive and expectancy factors operate in this population, there is also the question of whether some additional constructs, not normally used in studies of white students, might be helpful in differentiating the occupational aspirations of Negro youth. Are there some psychological characteristics which reflect something about the

experience of being Negro in this society that might have motivational significance for Negro college students?

This study takes up two characteristics of this sort. One has to do with these students' attitudes toward being pioneers, toward being the first or only Negro in a variety of educational and occupational settings. How willing are these students to pioneer if it were required to maximize their chances for success? There is also the issue of whether they are willing to be geographically mobile. Although not all high aspiration choices demand either the willingness to pioneer or to leave the south, where vast numbers of these students live, a number of the new opportunities for college-trained Negro youth will make such demands.

The other characteristic with possibly unique meaning for Negro youth has to do with a special kind of generalized expectancy. It concerns the students' beliefs about what causes success and failure for Negroes in this society. One of the frequently used measures of the generalized expectancy, known as belief in internal versus external control, requires the choice between two explanations for success or failure - an "internal" explanation asserting that what happens in life is the result of the person's skill, ability, or hard work, and an "external" explanation asserting that success or failure is determined by factors such as fate, luck or chance. A low generalized expectancy of success among white students may well derive from beliefs that one's life is controlled by such external factors as fate, luck or chance. For Negro students, however, racial discrimination has operated as another kind of external control of success and failure, one that is systematic rather than arbitrary, as are the forces of fate. Although the literature to date indicates that people who believe in external control have lower aspirations and perform less effectively than those who believe in internal control, it does not follow that the same effects would accrue to an

external-internal distinction regarding beliefs about the causes for failure among Negroes. First of all, Negroes who more often attribute other Negroes' failure to get ahead to lack of internal virtues than to external discriminatory obstacles may have reduced their own aspirations by incorporating negative views about Negroes and their potential. The negative self-image and lack of esteem implied by this set of beliefs may well operate to restrain aspirations. In contrast, students who put relatively more emphasis on discrimination than on the Negro's lack of internal virtues may have more positive self-concepts as Negroes. Furthermore, they may be more reality-oriented since the external system of discrimination does operate as a deterrent in the world of these Negro students. Being attuned to external factors may not be damaging for aspirations when it means assessing one's chances and causes for failure against systematic and real forces rather than the exigencies of fate. For these reasons, we introduced a different mastery-control concept in this study, one having to do with beliefs about the relative importance of internal skill and ability factors versus external discrimination factors in accounting for failure among Negroes.

Another issue that is unresolved from previous research has to do with whether the traditional motivational constructs would relate to dimensions of occupational aspiration other than prestige. Most studies of level of occupational aspiration have used the occupation's prestige to characterize high and low aspiration. It is unclear, therefore, whether the traditional motive and expectancy constructs would also be helpful in explaining level of aspiration with respect to other qualities of occupations.¹ In this study, we were

¹Only recently a few studies have appeared that provide some leads regarding this question. Particularly interesting are two studies of what determines the relative importance of prestige and ability demands in choosing an occupation (Burnstein, et al., 1963; Liberty, et al., 1964). They are concerned with whether there are motives which make prestige relatively

particularly interested in whether the traditional constructs would differentiate the students who are choosing occupations that are nontraditional from those who may be high aspirants with respect to prestige but whose choices are quite traditional for Negroes.

Research Questions

The specific research questions guiding the analysis of motivational relationships with aspiration are as follows:

1. Do the results from studies of white students hold for the students in this population? Given the backdrop of previous work, our comparisons will be restricted to predictions for the males, specifically to predictions regarding their prestige aspirations. We will examine whether the approach motives (particularly the achievement orientation) and generalized expectancies of success (particularly the sense of personal control) serve to enhance the prestige aspirations of Negro males as they do with white males. Similarly, we will examine whether fear of failure diminishes prestige aspirations in this population.
2. Is there any evidence for a differential picture of the motivational determinants of level of aspiration depending on what dimension of aspiration is involved? Do we learn anything about the relationship between motivation and level of aspiration by introducing notions of ability requirements and nontraditionality of the student's choice

unimportant in attracting people toward demanding and difficult occupations. The results indicate that the achievement motive, fear of failure, and concern with mastery relate to both prestige and ability-competence aspirations. However, if respondents are asked to choose between high prestige-low competence occupations and ones with high competence-low prestige, persons high in need for achievement, strong achievement values (Burnstein, et al., 1963) and a high sense of personal mastery and control (Liberty, et al., 1964) are more likely to prefer the occupations with higher ability demands than prestige.

that we could not learn simply by using prestige as the only measure of aspiration?

3. Do the same motivational characteristics that relate to the aspirations of the males also relate to the females' aspirations? Are there any characteristics which seem to be important for the females but not for the males?
4. Are there some motivational characteristics not normally used in studies of white youth that may be helpful in understanding the occupational aspirations of Negro college students?

Measures of Motivational Characteristics

Motive Disposition Measures

Measures of two avoidance dispositions (the motive to avoid failure and the desire for security) and two approach dispositions (the achievement orientation and desire for recognition and success) were used in this study.

The motive to avoid failure is measured by the Test Anxiety Questionnaire (Mandler and Sarason, 1952). Most of the experimental literature on the effects of fear of failure on performance is based on results using this measure. It provides a standard motivational measure about which a great deal is known.

The other motive measures are based on content analysis of answers to the following questions dealing with the students' life goals:

"As you think of your future life, what is your picture of the way you would like life to work out for you?"

"When you think of the kind of person you would like to be as an adult, who is the one person you know whom you most want to be like? What is there about this person that you admire or would like to be like?"

(For females only)² "How would you describe the kind of person you want to marry - the characteristics you think are the most important to you in the person you marry?"

An achievement orientation was scored from the frequency³ of mentioning any of the following in answers to these questions: (1) concern with meeting a standard of good performance or some standard of excellence, (2) a work challenge or test of capacities for a difficult job, (3) hard work or concern with putting maximum effort or energy into work, (4) stress on the process of striving, persistence in trying to attain goals set for self, and (5) marrying a person with any of these characteristics or concerns.

Another disposition scored from these life-goal questions, the desire for recognition or success, can also be thought of as a positive motive, one that should heighten approach to high-level occupations. Although we expected the achievement orientation to be an important determinant of aspiration, we also felt that the desire for recognition or success in the eyes of others might be an important disposition underlying high aspirations in a population with a history of restricted opportunities. The addition of this kind of positive motive was felt to be particularly important, given our interest in explaining different kinds of aspiration, that based on prestige, ability demands, and nontraditionality of the occupational choice. It was scored from the mention of any of the following: (1) concern with obtaining a

²This question was asked for females because of the possibility that particularly the girls' achievement strivings may be expressed mainly through desires and expectations for the husband.

³In order to control for individual differences in verbal fluency in scoring the dispositions from the life-goal questions, we actually used ratio scores instead of raw frequencies. Each person's frequency score on each disposition was divided by the total number of responses he gave in all questions. This also equates the meaning of male and female scores despite the fact the females answered one extra question.

statusful or respected job, (2) concern with prominence in career, with recognition for outstanding contribution, being a highly respected person in one's field, (3) concern with general success not restricted to the work setting, such as gaining the respect of persons in the community or being a well-known person, and (4) marrying a person with any of these characteristics or concerns.

The other disposition scored from the life-goal questions is the desire for security. It may be thought of as a negative motive in the sense of encouraging avoidance of occupational challenge. Although we expected the motive to avoid failure to be important as a negative determinant, we also felt that the desire for security might be an important source of avoidance motivation in a population for which economic deprivation is quite real. It will be recalled that over one-third of this population comes from families with yearly incomes meeting the criterion commonly used as the definition of poverty in this country. The security orientation was scored from the mention of: (1) concern with basic freedom from want, basic subsistence problems, (2) concern with adequate income for comfortable living, (3) concern with job security, with not being "laid off," (4) concern with having a stable family, (5) concern with having a comfortable, pleasant or untroubled life, or (6) marrying a person who can provide any of these aspects of the secure life.

Measures of Expectancy Factors

Two of the expectancy measures come from a factor analysis of the Internal-External Control Scale.⁴ Despite the fact that this scale is considered to be a unitary measure of a generalized expectancy that cuts across several kinds of situations, a factor analysis with this population resulted

⁴See the following for a description of the Internal-External Control Scale: Liverant, S., "The Use of Rotter's Social Learning Theory in Developing a Personality Inventory," Psychological Monographs, 72, 1958.

in two major factors.⁵ The first involves five items, all of which pair an external and arbitrary force such as fate with an internal alternative phrased in terms of the first person. This factor seems to measure whether "I can control what happens in my life," a measure of personal control. The second factor has thirteen items, all involving the pairing of an external arbitrary force with an internal alternative phrased in terms of the third person. It seems to concern the student's ideology about the causes of success or failure for people in general. This measure is called attribution of internal-external control to others.

A third expectancy measure comes from a factor analysis of internal and external items written specifically to tap beliefs about the causes of success and failure among Negroes. That analysis resulted in three factors.⁶ It is the first factor of five items that provides the measure of the special expectancy concept of interest in the motivational analyses of aspiration. In each of the five items loading on this factor, the internal alternative suggests that a Negro's failure to get ahead results from some internal lack such as lack of ability, skill, hard work, proper values, or training; the external alternative suggests that, even when a Negro is well trained or possesses the requisite abilities or attitudes, failure often occurs because of racial discrimination. This measure is called the blame-attribution scale.

⁵This factor analysis included all of the original items from the Internal-External Control Scale and the items added to assess beliefs about reasons for success and failure among Negroes. None of the latter items loaded heavily on either of these two factors. If their inclusion had had any effect in the results of the factor analysis, however, it should have been to maximize the likelihood of obtaining a single factor from all items not involving reference to the Negro situation.

⁶The other two factors seem to measure the modifiability of discrimination and preferences for individual betterment versus collective action as methods of handling problems of discrimination.

The last measure of generalized expectancy is a bit more specific in that it refers only to academic self-confidence. It comes from the student's assessment of how well he thinks he will perform academically compared to others in his college class.

Measures of Pioneering and Mobility Attitudes

The pioneering index, which assesses the students' willingness to be the first or only Negro in a variety of educational and occupational settings, comes from a factor analysis of a set of items having to do with willingness to engage in numerous behaviors involving some social risk for a Negro youth. The pioneering factor is composed of five items. Willingness to be geographically mobile is measured by asking how sure the student is that he would "take a job with excellent opportunities but so far from home that he couldn't see his parents very often."

Results for the Males

Relationships Between Motives and Level of Aspiration

Looking first at the approach motives, we find that males with a strong achievement orientation aspire for occupations that are both more prestigious and more demanding of ability than do males with lower achievement concerns. The achievement orientation is not significantly related to the nontraditionality of the choice, however. (See Table 1.) In other words, knowing that a student has a strong achievement orientation will help us predict that he will aspire for a difficult, prestigious job; it will not help us predict whether that job will be highly traditional or nontraditional for Negroes.

These results with the achievement orientation indicate that the relationship between motivation and aspiration does differ depending on what dimension of occupational aspiration is involved. Furthermore, even though having a high achievement orientation encourages both ability and prestige aspirations, there is some evidence that it is more important for the choice

TABLE VII-1

Relationships Between Approach Motives and Level of Males' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	1a. Achievement Orientation ¹				1b. Success Orientation ²		
	High (N=372)	Medium High (N=258)	Medium Low (N=359)	Low (N=699)	High (N=308)	Medium (N=308)	Low (N=1,072)
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.9	2.7	2.9
	F significant at .025				F not significant		
<u>Ability Demands</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.9
	F significant at .001				F not significant		
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.9
	F not significant				F significant at .05		

¹The four-way break on achievement orientation is not exactly a quartile division. Forty-one percent of the males gave no achievement responses at all to the life-goal questions. These two-fifths are what is meant by low. The other breaks each represent approximately one-fifth of the males. The proportion of achievement imagery in the medium low group ranges from 1 to 25 percent, medium high from 26 to 49 percent, and high from 50 to 100 percent.

²Similarly, because a large proportion of the males (62 percent) gave no success responses in answering the life-goal questions, it was not possible to divide the population in thirds. The low group is this three-fifths of the male population with no success imagery. The other two groups each represent approximately one-fifth of the males. The proportion of success imagery in the medium group ranges from 1 to 28 percent and in the high group from 29 to 100 percent.

of a difficult job than a prestigious one. This is evidenced by the relationship between the males' achievement orientations and two types of choices - those higher in ability demands than prestige and those higher in prestige than ability.⁷ Students choosing occupations judged to be relatively higher in ability demands than prestige have significantly higher achievement orientations than those choosing occupations which are more prestigious than they are demanding of ability. (See Table 2.)

The picture with respect to the other approach motive, the desire for recognition or success, is somewhat different. The success orientation is related only to aspiration for a nontraditional occupation. The more the males desire recognition and success, the more likely it is that their choices will be highly nontraditional for Negroes. (See Table 1.) On the other hand, the desire for recognition is not related to either ability or prestige aspirations. We do find, however, that the prestige of the choice conditions the relationship between the desire for recognition and the holding of nontraditional aspirations. Having a high success orientation differentiates between nontraditional and traditional choices only among males whose choices are also highly prestigious. We find that it does not distinguish how nontraditional the choice is likely to be among males with low prestige aspirations. (See Table 3.) In other words, having a high desire for success and recognition does not lead simply to nontraditional aspirations; it leads specifically to the choice of a prestigious occupation that is nontraditional instead of traditional for Negroes.

⁷ Although the ability and prestige of occupations are highly correlated, some occupations are judged to be relatively higher in one than the other characteristic. For instance, even at a high level of prestige, certain occupations, such as architect, mathematician, writer, and composer, are judged as having relatively greater ability demands than prestige. Conversely, even at a high level of ability demands, some occupations are judged as having greater prestige than difficulty. Examples are dentist, registered pharmacist, statistician, and lawyer.

TABLE VII-2

Differences in Achievement Relevant Orientations of Males Choosing Occupations Which Differ in Their Relative Emphases on Prestige and Ability

	Males Choosing Occupa- tions with Relatively Greater Ability than Prestige ¹ (N = 107)	Males Choosing Occupa- tions with Relatively Greater Prestige than Ability ² (N = 112)
<u>Achievement Orientation</u> (Range 0-3)	$\bar{X} = 1.55$	$\bar{X} = 1.01$
	t significant at <u>.005</u>	
<u>Success Orientation</u> (Range 0-2)	$\bar{X} = .48$	$\bar{X} = .59$
	t <u>not</u> significant	
<u>Security Orientation</u> (Range 0-3)	$\bar{X} = 1.01$	$\bar{X} = 1.22$
	t <u>not</u> significant	
<u>Fear of Failure</u> (Range 1-3)	$\bar{X} = 1.80$	$\bar{X} = 1.91$
	t <u>not</u> significant	

¹For an occupation to be considered relatively higher in ability demands than prestige, it must be at least two rank positions higher in the ability judgments (see Table 3).

²Similarly, an occupation must be two ranks higher in prestige for it to be considered relatively higher in prestige than ability.

TABLE VII-3

Relationship Between Desire for Recognition and the Nontraditionality of Males' Occupational Choices - Controlling for Prestige of the Choice

	Males Whose Choices are High ¹ Prestige		Males Whose Choices are Low ² Prestige	
	High Nontradi- tionality	Low Nontradi- tionality	High Nontradi- tionality	Low Nontradi- tionality
<u>Success Orientation</u> (Range 0-2, 2 = high emphasis on success)	$\bar{X} = .75$	$\bar{X} = .48$	$\bar{X} = .55$	$\bar{X} = .50$
	t significant at .005		t <u>not</u> significant	

¹High aspiration on each dimension is defined as upper 40 percent of all males.

²Low aspiration on each dimension is defined as bottom 40 percent of all males.

These results raise the interesting question of whose recognition may be desired by the males with a high success orientation. It will be recalled that high status parents encourage choices that are exactly the opposite of those likely to be made by males with a high desire for recognition. (See Chapter VI.) Instead of encouraging choices that are prestigious but nontraditional, high status parents seem to prefer that their sons go into occupations that are prestigious but relatively traditional for Negroes. Assuming that the values of those who possess high status in any group indicate something about what is statusful in that group, it would appear that prestigious jobs that are traditional for Negroes carry more status than nontraditional ones in the population we have studied. It is possible, therefore, that the males with a high desire for recognition, who are choosing occupations that carry somewhat less status than some others in this population, may be looking for a broad, societal recognition rather than recognition within the Negro community. At least that is the kind of recognition they are most likely to

obtain by nontraditional accomplishments, if high status parents continue to prefer traditional choices, so long as they are also highly prestigious.

Turning to the avoidance motives, we find that fear of failure is negatively related to all of these dimensions of occupational aspiration. (See Table 4.) Nevertheless, the inhibiting effects of having high anxiety about failure seem to operate primarily with respect to prestige and ability aspirations. Its effects on nontraditionality disappear when we control for the prestige of the males' choices. (See Table 5.) Similarly, having a high security orientation, which we hypothesized would encourage avoidance of occupational challenge, is negatively related to both prestige and ability aspirations. It is not significantly related to the nontraditionality of the choice except among those males whose choices have low prestige. (See Tables 4 and 5.) In other words, both of these avoidance motives seem to be debilitating primarily with aspirations for difficult and prestigious jobs.

Relationships Between Expectancy Measures and Level of Aspiration

Academic self-confidence, the generalized expectancy of doing well in school, relates positively to all three dimensions. Similarly, the sense of personal control also relates positively to all three dimensions of aspiration. (See Table 6.) The males who have high self-confidence about academic success and strong beliefs that they, rather than the exigencies of fate, can control what happens in their own lives also aspire to more prestigious, demanding, and nontraditional occupations than do the males with lower generalized expectancies of success.

The other expectancy measure that is based on the factor analysis of the Internal-External Control Scale, what we have called attribution of control to others, does not relate to any of these dimensions of occupational aspiration unless we control for the student's own sense of personal control. (See

TABLE VII-4

Relationships Between Avoidance Motives
and Level of Occupational Aspiration

Mean Level of:	4a. Fear of Failure ¹			4b. Desire for Security ²			
	High (N=495)	Moderate (N=567)	Low (N=659)	High (N=374)	Medium High (N=339)	Medium Low (N=409)	Low (N=566)
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	3.0	2.9	2.7	3.1	2.8	2.8	2.7
	F significant at .01			F significant at .01			
<u>Ability Demands</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	3.2	2.9	2.8	3.2	2.9	2.9	2.8
	F significant at .01			F significant at .01			
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	3.0	2.8	2.7	3.0	2.7	2.9	2.8
	F significant at .01			F <u>not</u> significant			

¹ Fear of failure groups were defined by taking a third of the population. Since males have somewhat lower anxiety than females, more than a third of the males end up in the "low" group.

² Desire for security groups each represent approximately a fourth of the males.

TABLE VII-5

Relationship Between Two Avoidance Motives and the Nontraditionality
of Males' Occupational Choices - Controlling for Prestige of the Choice

	Males Whose Choices are High ¹ Prestige		Males Whose Choices are Low ² Prestige	
	High Nontradi- tionality	Low Nontradi- tionality	High Nontradi- tionality	Low Nontradi- tionality
<u>Security Orientation</u> (Range 0-3, 3 = high emphasis on security)	$\bar{X} = 1.02$	$\bar{X} = 1.06$	$\bar{X} = 1.50$	$\bar{X} = 1.25$
	t <u>not</u> significant		t significant at .05	
<u>Fear of Failure</u> (Range 1-3, 3 = high anxiety)	$\bar{X} = 1.75$	$\bar{X} = 1.83$	$\bar{X} = 1.89$	$\bar{X} = 2.01$
	t <u>not</u> significant		t <u>not</u> significant	

¹ High aspiration on each dimension is defined as upper 40 percent of all males.

² Low aspiration on each dimension is defined as bottom 40 percent of all males.

TABLE VII-6

Relationships Between Two Generalized Expectancies and Level of the Males' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	6a. Generalized Academic Self-Confidence ¹					6b. Generalized Sense of Personal Control ²					
	High Self-Confidence (N=186)	Medium High (N=733)	Moderate (N=640)	Medium Low (N=122)	Low Self-Confidence (N=23)	High Personal Control (N=266)	Low Personal Control (N=205)	High Personal Control (N=50)	Low Personal Control (N=50)		
Prestige (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.7	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.1
							F significant at .001				
Ability Demands (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.9	3.2	3.2	3.2	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.3
							F significant at .001				
Nontraditionality (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.8	2.9	3.2	3.3	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.9
							F significant at .05				

¹On the academic self-confidence measure, high means an expectancy of doing better than 90 percent of the class; medium high better than 75 percent; moderate an expectancy of being in upper 50 percent; medium low better than only 25 percent; and low better than only ten percent.

²On the personal control measure, high represents choosing the internal alternative and low the external alternative on all five of the items involved. High personal control means a strong belief that "I", rather than external factors such as fate, control my own successes and failures in life. The positions in between high and low represent the endorsement of internal relative to external reasons on the remaining four items.

Table 7.) Beliefs about the relative importance of internal skills and fate in accounting for others' successes and failures do relate to their own aspirations among males who have a low sense of personal control themselves. The males who feel they cannot control what happens in their own lives, but feel that internal factors explain others' successes and failures, aspire for occupations that are significantly lower in prestige, ability demands, and nontraditionality than those who feel that external factors account for others' successes and failures as well as their own. The former group might be considered a "Protestant ethic" group (possessing the ideology that hard work, skill or ability will be rewarded) which is lacking the personal control to effectuate the ideology for themselves. This combination of believing that success is a function of internal virtues but not believing in one's own capacity to produce desired goal may well create a self-blame mechanism in this group that is particularly destructive of aspirations.

The last expectancy measure concerns the students' beliefs regarding the causes for failure among Negroes. This blame-attribution scale relates only to how nontraditional the males' choices are. (See Table 8.) The males who believe that failure among Negroes is more often the function of discrimination than some internal lack of the Negro have significantly higher aspirations for nontraditional jobs than those who more often attribute failure to the Negro's lack of ability, hard work, proper values, or other internal lack.

As suggested earlier, one possible explanation for this finding is that the attribution of blame to Negroes may reflect self-blame or low self-esteem as Negroes that tends to inhibit aspirations. If this were the only explanation, however, we would expect the relationship between blaming Negroes and expressing more traditional aspirations to be particularly strong among those

Relationships Between Beliefs About the Importance of Internal vs. External Factors in Accounting for Others' Successes-Failures and the Level of the Males' Occupational Aspirations

- ¹The three-way break on the attribution of control to others measure represents a third of the population in each group. High internal attribution means a belief that others can control their successes and failures by internal factors such as skill, hard work. High external attributions means a belief that others cannot control their successes and failures by skill, hard work; instead, their successes are controlled by factors such as fate.
- ²Males with a high sense of personal control are those choosing the internal alternative on four or five of the five items regarding whether "I" can control my own successes and failures; low represents the endorsement of the internal alternative on only two, one or none of the five items.
- ³The two-way break on attribution of control to others represents a median split.

TABLE VII-8

Relationship Between Beliefs About What Causes Failure Among
Negroes and Level of the Males' Own Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of the Chosen Occupation's:	Blame Attribution				
	High Belief ¹ in Internal Lacks of the Negro (N=258)	(N=424)	(N=483)	(N=384)	High Belief in Discrim- ination (N=151)
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.9
	F <u>not</u> significant				
<u>Ability Demands</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.9
	F <u>not</u> significant				
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.6
	F significant at <u>.001</u>				

¹There are four items in this blame-attribution scale. Each item involves two alternatives, one attributing failure to some internal lack of the Negro such as lack of skill, hard work, etc, and the other attributing failure to discrimination. A high belief in internal lacks of the Negro means the choice of that explanation for failure on all four items. High belief in discrimination means endorsing that explanation on all four. The positions in between represent the relative endorsements of the two explanations on the remaining three items.

students with a low sense of personal control themselves.⁸ In controlling for personal control, however, we find that this relationship holds both for those with high personal control and those with low personal control. (See Table 9.) Since the tendency to blame discrimination enhances aspirations for nontraditional jobs, regardless of the males' own sense of personal control, something beyond a self-blame explanation seems to be needed. This explanation may lie in the special need to be cognizant of discrimination in order to be attuned to new opportunities. Of course, since personal control also encourages nontraditional aspirations, the combination of having both a high sense of personal control and belief that failure among Negroes is more often due to discrimination than lack of ability or skill on the part of Negroes themselves should produce the most nontraditional aspirations. This is what we find. The comparisons of four types of males generated by using extreme groups with respect to both personal control and beliefs about what causes failure among Negroes show that the most nontraditional aspirations occur among those who have a high sense of personal control but see discrimination as the most important cause for failure among Negroes. This is the group of males who may be both especially attuned to discrimination but believe

⁸The self-blame mechanism may be adequate, however, for explaining the fact that we find a relationship between beliefs about what causes failure among Negroes and prestige aspirations among males with low personal control despite the fact there is no relationship without controlling for personal control. (See Table 9.) Among males who have low personal control, we find that prestige aspirations are significantly lower if failure of Negroes is attributed to some internal lack of the Negro rather than discrimination. The combination of feeling one cannot control one's own life and feeling other Negroes fail because of lack of internal strengths, even in the face of discrimination, should be particularly debilitating to self-esteem. It may involve an even more damaging kind of self-blame than that we described as possibly stemming from holding the "Protestant Ethic" but lacking the power to effectuate the ideology for oneself. Lacking personal control and blaming other Negroes for failure would seem to imply self-hatred as a Negro. The fact that prestige aspirations are enhanced among Negro males who have a low sense of personal control if they see discrimination as the most important cause for failure among Negroes seems to be evidence that hope weathers best in the face of some kind of self-respect.

in their own capacity to achieve success. The most traditional aspirations appear among the males who are not attuned to discrimination and who feel themselves to be impotent in controlling their own successes and failures.

TABLE VII-9

Relationship Between Beliefs About What Causes Failure Among Negroes and Level of Occupational Aspiration - Controlling for the Males' Own Sense of Personal Control

Mean Level of the Chosen Occupation's:	Males With a High Sense of Personal Control ¹ Attribution of Blame to ²		Males With a Low Sense of Personal Control Attribution of Blame to	
	Internal Lacks of the Negro (N=353)	Discrim- ination (N=300)	Internal Lacks of the Negro (N=330)	Discrim- ination (N=279)
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.9	2.5	3.0	2.7
	t significant at .001		t significant at .001	
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.7	3.2	2.9
	t <u>not</u> significant		t significant at .01	

¹Males with a high sense of personal control are those choosing the internal alternative on four or five of the five items regarding whether "I" can control my own successes and failures; low represents the endorsement of the internal alternative on only two, one or none of the five items.

²The two-way break on the blame-attribution scale represents a median split.

Relationships Between Mobility, Pioneering Attitudes and Level of Aspiration

Students who are quite willing to be pioneers - to be the first or only Negro in a job situation - were expected to hold higher aspirations, particularly more nontraditional aspirations, than those who are more cautious about being pioneers. The results indicate that the males with the greatest willingness to pioneer have higher aspirations on all the dimensions of occupational aspiration - prestige, ability demands, and nontraditionality. (See Table 10.)

The males' attitudes toward mobility - toward taking an excellent job so far from home that they couldn't see their parents very often - are related only to the ability demands and nontraditionality of their occupational choices. They are not related to the prestige of their choices. It would seem, therefore, that willingness to be geographically mobile is associated with those types of aspirations that may actually require leaving home. At least a student who desires a career in some of the new opportunity areas, particularly in industrial and scientific research, but is unwilling to move to some of the more industrialized and urbanized areas of the country may not be successful in achieving his goal. On the other hand, a Negro student who is unwilling to leave his home in the Deep South can be much better assured of obtaining a prestigious job despite his reluctance to move for an excellent job opportunity. Indeed, traditionally, many of the professional jobs with high prestige have been more available to Negroes in the south than in other regions of the country. This is especially true of supervisory positions such as school principal and other jobs in educational administration.

The Issue of Relevance in the Motivational Dynamics of Aspiration

The relationships discussed in the preceding sections are based on analyses using the entire population of male students. We speculated, however, whether these relationships might not be sharper for those males for whom the question of choosing an occupation is particularly salient and important. This would be suggested, for instance, by the role of arousal in the experimental work on achievement motivation. Numerous studies have indicated that the achievement scores are predictive of aspiration and performance only when the situation is such that the underlying achievement needs have been aroused. Similarly, in a field study such as this one, it could be argued that the motivational characteristics normally expected to promote high aspiration should have this effect only if the issue of choosing an

TABLE VII-10

Relationship Between Pioneering, Willingness To Be Geographically Mobile,
and Level of Occupational Aspiration

10a. ¹ Willingness to be an <u>educational</u> <u>and occupational pioneer</u>					10b. Willingness to take an excellent job far from home even if it means not seeing parents very often.				
Mean Level of:	High Will- ingness (N=262)	Medium High (N=424)	Moderate (N=363)	Medium Low (N=250)	Low Will- ingness (N=258)	Com- pletely Sure I Would (N=656)	I Probably Would (N=417)	I Might but Would Have To Think About it a Lot (N=205)	Sure I Wouldn't (N=60)
Prestige (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.9	3.2	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.0
	F significant at .001					F <u>not</u> significant			
Ability Demands (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.3	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.5
	F significant at .001					F significant at .001			
Nontraditionality (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.3
	F significant at .025					F significant at .001			

¹The willingness to pioneer index involves four questions regarding willingness to be the first or only Negro in several educational and vocational settings. Each is measured on a four-point scale.

occupation is sufficiently important to the student to arouse and engage his motivation.

This possibility was explored by examining these relationships separately among males for whom occupational choice is highly important and among those for whom it is not. Three measures of importance were used to distinguish these two extreme groups. One group is composed of those males who rank as the first and second goals for college, the "opportunity to think through what occupation and career I want and develop some of the necessary skills," and the "opportunity to develop a deep, perhaps professional, grasp of a specific field of study" and who, in addition, expect their "career" to be the most important area of their life after college. The group for whom the issue of occupational choice is considered to be low is just the opposite - those for whom neither of these goals for college is ranked first or second and for whom "career" is not expected to be the most important area of post-college life.

The relevance hypothesis is quite well supported. None of the relationships hold in the group where occupational choice is low in relevance. Furthermore, all of the relationships discussed above are higher in the group where occupational choice is presumed to have high relevance to motivation than they were in the population at large.

Of course, these are comparisons of relationships in extreme groups. Nevertheless, they do illustrate the significance of isolating the subgroups in any field study who can be assumed to be motivationally aroused by the object of investigation in the study - in this case by the occupation they have chosen. After all, why should anxiety debilitate aspiration for a demanding and challenging job if the issue of choosing an occupation does not have the capacity to arouse the aspirant's anxiety and, thus, in this sense, is not relevant to his underlying motivational characteristics?

Summary

All of these motivational characteristics seem to play some kind of role in the males' aspirations, particularly when the issue of choosing an occupation is very important to them. Nevertheless, the role varies depending on what quality of occupations is used to define level of aspiration. To summarize:

- The achievement orientation does not seem to be important in the aspiration for nontraditional jobs; furthermore, although it is related to both prestige and ability aspirations, it is particularly relevant in the choice of an occupation that is somewhat higher in ability demands than in prestige.
- Having a high success orientation leads specifically to the choice of a prestigious occupation that is nontraditional instead of traditional for Negroes.
- Both of the avoidance dispositions, fear of failure and desire for security, operate as inhibitors of aspiration, primarily with respect to occupational prestige and ability demands.
- Having high generalized expectancies of success, in terms of either academic self-confidence or a less specific sense of personal control, enhances all three types of aspiration.
- Ideologies about the causes of success and failure for other people operate somewhat differently from the students' own expectancies about success; although it is clearly better for these students to believe that they can control their own lives, it is sometimes better to hold an external rather than an internal ideology regarding the causes of success and failure for other people; this appears to be the case for males who are lacking strong personal control

themselves and for all males when it comes to the impact of ideology on how nontraditional their aspirations are.

Clearly, therefore, the meaning of personal motivation depends to some extent on the nature of the object or goal that is desired. A particular motivational characteristic may be important in the choice of a prestigious job but irrelevant in the choice of a nontraditional one. We can also ask, however, what impact all of these characteristics together would have on the different dimensions of aspiration. Since most of these characteristics are fairly independent of each other (see the correlation matrix on next page) and yet bear some relationship to at least one of these dimensions of aspiration, then considering them together as well as separately should be useful. They may be explaining different aspects of high aspiration. Thus, it is of interest to know how the students with strong orientations toward both achievement and success, with very little anxiety about failure or desire for security, and with high generalized expectancies of success might behave regarding these three dimensions of occupational aspiration.

This question can be explored by relating an index comprised of all positive sources of motivation to these dimensions of aspiration. The students' ideologies about success and failure, both with respect to Negroes and other people in general, are excluded from this index because of their more complicated relationships to aspiration. On all of the other characteristics a median split was used to define high and low motivation although, of course, a low score on the avoidance dispositions contributed positively to the total motivation score. Furthermore, because expectancy factors were assumed to be more important than motive factors in the motivation of Negro youth, the two generalized expectancies (academic self-confidence and sense of personal control) were each given double weight in the total score. With a score of one assigned to persons above the median on the positive motives

TABLE VII-11

Intercorrelations Among the Motivational Characteristics

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Fear of failure	1.00								
2. Desire for security	.05 (.02)	1.00							
3. Achievement orientation	-.04 (-.05)	-.35 (-.19)	1.00						
4. Success orientation	-.04 (-.01)	-.17 (-.12)	.15 (.10)	1.00					
5. Academic self-confidence	-.12 (-.18)	-.08 (-.07)	.04 (.04)	.02 (.01)	1.00				
6. Sense of personal control	-.18 (-.15)	-.04 (-.04)	.04 (.06)	.03 (.01)	.20 (.19)	1.00			
7. Belief that others' successes and failures are controlled by internal factors (Protestant ethic ideology)	.07 (.09)	.03 (.03)	.04 (.03)	.01 (.01)	.03 (.00)	.21 (.22)	1.00		
8. Belief that failure among Negroes is due more to discrimination than personal inadequacies	-.04 (-.03)	.01 (-.03)	.03 (-.02)	.01 (.01)	.02 (.04)	-.05 (-.04)	-.22 (-.21)	1.00	
9. Willingness to pioneer	-.01 (-.07)	-.13 (-.11)	.04 (-.03)	.01 (.03)	.10 (.11)	.17 (.18)	.00 (.02)	-.01 (-.01)	1.00

and below the median on the negative motives, and a score of two for being above the median on the generalized expectancies, this index has a possible range of zero to eight.

As would be expected from the pattern of separate relationships between these six characteristics and the three dimensions of aspiration, this index is more highly related to the prestige (+.50) and ability demands (+.46) of the males' choices than it is to how nontraditional (+.36) they are.

Results for the Females

In general, psychologists know less about how motivation operates to affect the choices and behavior of females than of males. As an example, there is the lack of clarity in the results of the research on the behavioral consequences of achievement motivation for females. Need-for-achievement measures do not predict risk preferences, persistence in activity, or level of performance for females as well as for males. Though few studies have been done relating motivational characteristics to the occupational aspirations of girls, the failure to validate results regarding other consequences of achievement motivation with females raises doubts about the value of achievement motivation, at least, in explaining girls' aspirations.

The results of this study show, however, that most of the motivational characteristics that are useful in differentiating level of aspiration among the males also apply to the females, particularly with respect to their aspirations for jobs demanding high ability. On the other hand, it is true that we can have less confidence about the results for the girls. In almost all cases where a motivational characteristic does differentiate high and low aspirants, the level of significance is lower for the females than for the males. Furthermore, in contrast to the males, very little is learned about the motivational determinants of nontraditional aspirations among the girls.

The only characteristic that distinguishes nontraditional⁹ and traditional aspirants among the females is the set of beliefs about what causes success and failure for Negroes.

Relationships Between Motives and the Girls' Aspirations

Looking first at the positive motives, we find, as with the males, that having a high achievement orientation enhances the likelihood of aspiring for occupations requiring high ability and ones that are prestigious. (See Table 12a.) On the other hand, having a high success orientation is not related to any dimensions of aspiration among the girls. (See Table 12b.) It is the desire for recognition or success that distinguishes nontraditional and traditional aspirations among the males.

The two dispositions thought of as encouraging avoidance of occupational challenge both relate negatively, as they do with the males, to the ability-competence aspirations of the girls. Girls who have a high fear of failure or a high need for security are less likely to aspire for highly demanding and difficult jobs than are girls who are less anxious or less concerned about security. (See Tables 13a and 13b.) In contrast to the males, however, neither of these avoidant orientations relates to the prestige aspirations of the girls.

⁹The failure to find many relationships with nontraditionality is very likely due to the restricted range in the girls' choices with respect to nontraditionality. There are, for example, only two nontraditionality scores given to the various teaching choices - one indicating the percent Negro in elementary teaching positions and one for secondary education positions. Since a larger proportion of the females than the males are aspiring to be teachers, the overall variance in the nontraditionality of the females' choices is bound to be more restricted than it is for the males. Furthermore, the restriction in range of nontraditionality is greater than in other dimensions of aspiration. Since the various teaching choices were judged somewhat differently regarding how prestigious, demanding of ability, and desirable they are to girls, the girls' choices represent a relatively wide range of scores on these dimensions despite the large proportion of girls going into teaching.

TABLE VII-12

Relationships Between Approach Motives and Level of Females' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	12a. Achievement Orientation ¹			12b. Success Orientation ²		
	High (N=416)	Medium High (N=447)	Low (N=363)	High (N=354)	Medium (N=387)	Low (N=974)
<u>Prestige</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.6
	F significant at .05			F not significant		
<u>Ability Demands</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6
	F significant at .01			F not significant		
<u>Desirability to Other Girls</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7
	F not significant			F not significant		
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3
	F not significant			F not significant		

¹The four-way break on the achievement orientation measure represents quartiles. The low group, or bottom 25 percent are those girls who gave no achievement responses to the life-goal questions. The proportion of achievement imagery in the medium low group ranges from 1 to 11 percent, in the medium high group from 12 to 20 percent, and in the high group from 21 to 100 percent.

²Because a large proportion (56 percent) of the females gave no success responses in answering the life-goal questions, it was not possible to divide the population into thirds. The low group is this group with no success imagery. The other two groups each represent approximately one-fifth of the females. The proportion of success imagery in the medium group ranges from 1 to 11 percent and in the high group from 12 to 100 percent.

TABLE VII-13

Relationships Between Avoidance Motives and Level of Females' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	13a. Fear of Failure ¹			13b. Desire for Security ²			
	High (N=691)	Moderate (N=542)	Low (N=483)	High (N=439)	Medium High (N=439)	Medium Low (N=431)	Low (N=406)
Prestige (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.5
	F <u>not</u> significant			F <u>not</u> significant			
Ability Demands (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.5
	F significant at .025			F significant at .05			
Desirability to Other Girls (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7
	F <u>not</u> significant			F <u>not</u> significant			
Nontraditionality (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3
	F <u>not</u> significant			F <u>not</u> significant			

¹Fear of failure groups were defined by taking a third of the population. Since females have somewhat higher anxiety than males, more than a third of the females end up in the "high" group.

²Desire for security groups each represent approximately a fourth of the females.

Relationships Between Expectancy Factors and the Girls' Aspirations

The pattern of expectancy results for the girls is very similar to the results for the males. Having a high sense of personal control is associated with girls' aspirations for both more prestigious occupations and ones demanding of ability. (See Table 14b.) Similarly, those girls who have a generalized expectancy of doing well academically aspire for harder and more prestigious occupations. (See Table 14a.) It will be recalled that though both of these generalized expectancy measures relate positively to all dimensions of aspiration among the males, they are particularly relevant for differentiating ability and prestige aspirations just as they are for the females.

The expectancy measure that we have called attribution of control to others also operates much as it does for the males. As with the males, it does not relate to any of these dimensions of the girls' aspiration unless their own generalized expectancies of success are introduced as a control. (See Table 15.) But the question of ideology about the causes of success and failure for other people does differentiate high and low aspiration among the girls who have a low sense of personal control themselves. In this group the measure of attribution of control to others operates very much as it does with the males who have low personal control. The females who feel they cannot control what happens in their own lives but feel that internal factors explain others' successes and failures aspire for occupations that are significantly lower in both prestige and ability demands. Thus, when girls do have low generalized expectancies of success, it is better for them to hold an external rather than an internal ideology regarding the factors that account for other people's successes and failures.

TABLE VII-14

Relationships Between Two Generalized Expectancies and Level of Females' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	14a. Generalized Academic Self-Confidence ¹				14b. Generalized Sense of Personal Control ²			
	High Self- Confidence (N=105)	Medium High (N=622)	Moderate (N=752)	Low Self- Confidence (N=167)	High Personal Control (N=182)	Medium High (N=342)	Low Personal Control (N=263)	
Prestige (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.5	2.6	
		F significant at .05				F significant at .001		
Ability Demands (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.3	2.5	2.6	
		F significant at .001				F significant at .025		
Desirability to Other Girls (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.6	
		F significant at .05				F not significant		
Nontraditionality (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	
		F not significant				F not significant		

¹On the academic self-confidence measure, high means an expectation of doing better than 90 percent of the class; medium high better than 75 percent; moderate an expectancy of being in upper 50 percent; medium low better than only 25 percent; and low better than only 10 percent.

²On the personal control measure, high represents choosing the internal alternative and low the external alternative on all five of the items involved. High personal control means a strong belief that "I", rather than external factors such as fate, control my own successes and failures in life. The positions in between high and low represent the endorsement of internal relative to external reasons on the remaining four items.

TABLE VII-15

Relationships Between Beliefs About the Importance of Internal vs. External Factors in Accounting for Others' Successes and Failures and the Level of the Females' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	15a. Relationships for all Females				15b. Relationship Controlling for the Females' Own Personal Control			
	High Internal ¹ Attributions to Others (N=520)		High External Attributions to Others (N=498)		Females With High Sense of Personal Control ²		Females With Low Sense of Personal Control	
					High Internal ³ Attributions to Others (N=259)	High External Attributions to Others (N=263)	High Internal Attributions to Others (N=380)	High External Attributions to Others (N=348)
Prestige (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	2.5	F not significant	2.4	2.4	2.8	2.5
Ability Demands (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	2.5	F not significant	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.6
Desirability to Other Girls (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.7	2.6	2.5	F not significant	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6
Nontraditionality (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.3	2.3	2.1	F not significant	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2
		F not significant	F not significant		t not significant	t not significant	t not significant	t not significant

¹The three-way break on the attribution of control to others measure represents approximately a third of the population in each group. High internal attribution means a belief that others can control their successes and failures by internal factors such as skill, hard work. High external attributions means a belief that others cannot control their successes and failures by skill, hard work; instead, their successes are controlled by factors such as fate.

²Females with a high sense of personal control are those choosing the internal alternative on four or five of the five items regarding whether "I" can control my own successes and failures; low represents the endorsement of the internal alternative on only two, one or none of the five items.

³The two-way break on attribution of control to others represents a median split.

Finally, as is true with the males, the expectancy measures with specific reference to the causes for success and failure among Negroes is important in distinguishing traditional and nontraditional aspirations among the girls. (See Table 16.) The girls who believe that failure among Negroes is more often the function of discrimination are choosing occupations which are significantly more nontraditional than are the girls who more often attribute failure to internal lacks of the Negro. As mentioned earlier, this

TABLE VII-16

Relationship Between Beliefs About What Causes Failure
Among Negroes and Level of the Females' Own Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	Blame Attribution				High Belief in Discrim- ination (N=157)
	High Belief ¹ in Internal Lacks of the Negro (N=299)	(N=413)	(N=468)	(N=357)	
<u>Prestige</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.7
		F <u>not</u> significant			
<u>Ability Demands</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6
		F <u>not</u> significant			
<u>Desirability to Other Girls</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6
		F <u>not</u> significant			
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1
		F significant at .025			

¹There are four items in this blame-attribution scale. Each item involves two alternatives, one attributing failure to some internal lack of the Negro such as lack of skill, hard work, etc, and the other attributing failure to discrimination. A high belief in internal lacks of the Negro means the choice of that explanation for failure on all four items. High belief in discrimination means endorsing that explanation on all four. The positions in between represent the relative endorsements of the two explanations on the remaining three items.

is the one personality disposition that relates to how nontraditional the girls' aspirations are.

Relationships Between Pioneering Attitudes and the Girls' Aspirations

The pioneering index is significantly related to both the prestige and ability aspirations of the girls' choices just as it is with the males. However, in contrast to the males, we find no evidence that willingness to be geographically mobile is associated with any of the dimensions of occupational aspiration among the girls. (See Table 16.)

Impact of Total Motivation

The same approach used to develop a summary motivation score for the males was also used for the females. As expected, given the fact that these separate motivational characteristics bear fewer significant relationships to aspiration for the females than they do for the males, we find that the impact of total motivation is also less for the females. This is particularly true regarding the prestige and nontraditionality dimensions. The total motivation score has very small relationships to these dimensions, $+0.19$ and $+0.09$, respectively. On the other hand, it is negatively related (-0.32) to how desirable other females consider their choices to be and positively related ($+0.37$) to how difficult and demanding of ability they are. Thus, even though this correlation with ability demands is smaller than the comparable one for the males, it highlights the fact that the greatest similarity in the motivational dynamics of the two sexes occurs with respect to aspiration for jobs that are difficult and demanding of high ability.

Discussion of Results

These results bear on a number of the issues discussed earlier as still being unresolved from prior research on the motivational determinants of aspiration.

TABLE VII-17

Relationships Between Pioneering and Mobility Attitudes and the Level
of the Females' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	17a. ¹ Willingness to be an Educational and Occupational Pioneer				17b. Willingness To Take an Excellent Job far From Home Even if it Means not Seeing Parents Very Often			
	High Will- ingness (N=279)	Medium High (N=359)	Moderate (N=342)	Medium Low (N=323)	Low Will- ingness (N=384)	Com- pletely Sure I Would (N=696)	I Might but I Probably Think About it a Lot (N=486)	Sure I Wouldn't (N=96)
<u>Prestige</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.6
	F significant at .025						F not significant	
<u>Ability Demands</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.7
	F significant at .001						F not significant	
<u>Desirability to Other Girls</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6
	F not significant						F not significant	
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (4 point scale, 1 = high)	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3
	F not significant						F not significant	

¹The willingness to pioneer index involves four questions regarding willingness to be the first or only Negro in several educational and vocational settings. Each is measured on a four-point scale.

Generalizability of the Results From Previous Research With White Males

In the first place, they indicate that the results from prior studies of white college males' aspiration for high prestige jobs also apply to the Negro males in this study. As in previous research, we find that having a high achievement orientation and a high sense of personal control are positively related to these Negro males' prestige aspirations; conversely, having a high fear of failure and a strong need for security are negatively related to their prestige aspirations.

Differential Relationships With Various Dimensions of Aspiration

A second issue of interest in the study had to do with whether the traditional motivational constructs would relate to any dimensions of occupational aspiration other than prestige. Very few studies have examined the determinants of other dimensions of aspiration. Since most of the studies have been done with males, we will restrict our comments here to a discussion of the results for the males in this population. They indicate that these constructs are useful in explaining aspirations that are high in ability demands and nontraditionality as well as prestige; they also show that the importance of different motivational characteristics depends on which dimension of aspiration is involved. One way to highlight the differential picture of motivation that is provided by these results is to ask whether we learn anything by introducing the notions of ability requirements and nontraditionality of the choice that we could not learn simply by knowing it is highly prestigious. Of course, either of the other dimensions could be used as a base for assessing whether the addition of another dimension of aspiration contributes anything to our understanding of the way motivation operates in the area of occupational choice. But since prestige is the dimension used most frequently in the literature, anything we learn over and beyond what accounts for prestige aspirations makes a particular contribution to our knowledge.

We can start, therefore, with what we learn about the motivational characteristics of males who are making highly prestigious choices. They have higher achievement orientations, lower anxiety about failure, less need for security, higher sense of personal control, and greater willingness to pioneer than the males whose choices are lower in prestige. If we also know that their choices are highly demanding of ability, they are likely to be young men who have even higher achievement orientations and even less need for security. They are also likely to be willing to go far from home to get an excellent job. Similarly, we learn more or something different about the males' motivational characteristics if, in addition to knowing that their occupational choices are highly prestigious, we also know that their choices are highly nontraditional. The males whose choices are highly nontraditional as well as prestigious are likely to have a high desire for recognition - what we have called a success orientation. Indeed, it is only with high prestige choices that are nontraditional instead of traditional for Negroes that a high success orientation appears. They are also likely to be especially attuned to problems of discrimination; they more often attribute a Negro's failure to get ahead to discrimination than to the Negro's lack of skill or ability. And they are likely to be willing to be geographically mobile to obtain an excellent job.

Motivation and Role Considerations in the Aspirations of Females

The fact that the motivational determinants of high ability choices are so similar for the two sexes is particularly interesting since the sex-role considerations in making such choices seem to be so important. In fact, it was because sex-role considerations seem to play such an important part in males' and females' ability aspirations that we raised the question whether a different set of motivational determinants might be needed for each sex.

We might review some of the evidence that prompted that question. In the first place, we learned that a smaller proportion of the females aspire for high ability jobs than is true of the males. We also learned that for a girl to make a high ability choice demands a willingness to counter the notion of what is an appropriate choice for a female. It means she is making a choice that is considered undesirable to other girls. It also means, if she comes from a high status home or one where the parents, particularly the mother, play an important role in the daughter's occupational choice, that she is likely to be choosing an occupation that runs counter to the tradition and wishes of the family. On the other hand, when a male aspires for a difficult job, it is not inconsistent with a sex-linked definition of what is an appropriate role for a man. Instead, the choice of a job requiring high ability means that a young man is making a choice considered highly desirable in the eyes of male peers; it also means a choice that is encouraged by high status parents and those exercising influence in their sons' choices. Yet, despite what would seem to be very different considerations underlying the choice of a high ability job for the two sexes, we do not seem to need a different set of motivational concepts to account for this choice among males and among females. It is simply a more infrequent choice for females than males. But when girls do aspire for difficult and demanding jobs, they seem to do so from much the same motivational background as is true of the males.

Some of the reasons given by males and females for the occupational choices they have made lend support to this picture. They illustrate that the reasons given by girls who are making unconventional choices, ones that are difficult and demanding of high ability, are very similar to those given by males whose choices also represent high ability aspirations; on the other hand, these reasons are very different from those given by girls who are

making conventional choices, ones judged to be highly desirable to other girls. We also learn that the reasons given by both sexes for high ability choices are what might be thought of as "masculine" reasons while the reasons given by girls for conventional female choices are more typically "feminine."

The students were asked to rate a number of statements referring to factors which might have operated as reasons for their occupational choices. Two of these reasons seem to be particularly sex-linked. Males attach significantly more importance to "opportunities for advancement" as a reason underlying their choices. On the other hand, females place greater importance on the "chance to be creative and original." If we use these differential endorsement rates as a definition of masculine and feminine reasons, "opportunities for advancement" may be considered a masculine concern and "the chance to be creative and original" a feminine one. If we look at how important these two reasons are to students whose choices represent high ability demands, we find that the more masculine concern with advancement relates positively while the more feminine concern with creativity relates negatively to the ability aspirations of both the males and females. The greater the importance attached to opportunities for advancement and the less emphasis given to possibilities for creativity, the more likely it is that both the males' and females' choices will be demanding and difficult. Just the opposite pattern of masculine and feminine concerns lies behind the girls' choices that are considered highly desirable by other girls. The more masculine concern with advancement relates negatively while the more feminine concern with creativity relates positively to the desirability of the girls' choices as judged by other girls. This means that when a girl expresses feminine reasons for the choice of her occupation and attaches very little importance to masculine reasons, she is likely to make a conventional and desirable choice

for girls. Conversely, when she puts high emphasis on masculine reasons and under-emphasizes the feminine ones, her choice is likely to be demanding of ability, just as is true for the males, but also an unconventional and relatively infrequent choice for girls.

All of this seems to highlight the importance of role considerations in the choices of the girls. When girls behave as parents, particularly high status parents, would like and according to what other girls consider the desirable thing to do, they focus on more "feminine" reasons for their choices and they choose occupations which nationally are overrepresented by women. Conversely, when they aspire for unconventional choices, they express more "masculine" reasons for their choices and present the same motivational picture as the males who aspire for difficult occupations that provide a test of one's abilities.

Motivational Characteristics With Particular Importance for Negro Youth

Finally, these results support the expectation that certain motivational characteristics not normally used in studies of white students would be helpful in accounting for level of aspiration in a Negro population. For instance, willingness to pioneer, to be the first or only Negro in a variety of educational and occupational settings, is related to all of these dimensions of aspiration among the males and to both prestige and ability aspirations among the females. Students who are willing to pioneer have higher occupational aspirations than those who are more cautious about venturing into a relatively unknown world. And, to be willing to be the only or first Negro in a given position or a particular company does require, for most of these students, a willingness to confront the unknown; almost all of them have grown up in the Deep South, attended Negro high schools before entering predominantly Negro colleges, and report that they have not yet had the experience of working in a predominantly white environment.

Of greater importance, perhaps, are the results regarding the relationships between aspiration and the various measures of the students' generalized expectancies about success and failure. These findings differ in several ways from those previously reported with white samples. Although the distinction has not been made in studies with white students, it seems to be crucial in this population to distinguish between two types of generalized expectancies: (1) one that concerns the relative importance of external fate versus personal strengths in accounting for one's own chances for success, what we have called a sense of personal control and (2) a general ideology about the causes of success and failure for other people. It is not simply that the factor analysis of the traditional Internal-External Control items resulted in two such factors, one involving attribution of control to the self and one to people in general; it is also that these two factors operate so differently. The measure of personal control appears to be the more important determinant of aspiration. Among the females it relates to both prestige and ability aspirations; among the males it relates to all the dimensions of occupational aspiration that were examined in this study and it relates in the expected fashion. The students with the highest sense of personal control, who believe that their internal strengths are more important than the exigencies of fate in accounting for whether they get ahead in life, have the highest aspirations. Their occupational choices are significantly more prestigious, more demanding of ability, and, among the males, also more nontraditional for Negroes than are those of students who feel they have less capacity to control their own lives.

The two ideological measures, one regarding people in general and one having to do specifically with other Negroes, do not bear such consistent relationships to these dimensions of aspiration. And where these general beliefs come into play, they operate in just the opposite direction from the

results generally reported in the studies of internal-external control and from the way in which the sense of personal control seems to affect aspirations. Indeed, the meaning of these students' general ideologies about the causes for success and failure for the setting of their own aspirations appears to be quite complicated. It depends on how much the students feel in control of their own life situations whether a particular ideology about the general causes for success and failure enters into their own aspirations; it also depends on the type of aspiration that is involved. We might review some of these findings, suggesting why it may be better, under certain conditions, for Negro students to hold a more external orientation regarding the general causes for success and failure even though it is clearly better for them to believe in internal control with respect to their own lives.

Two elements seem to be involved in the way the ideological measures operate in this population. One is illustrated by the findings regarding the effects of holding a general Protestant ethic ideology among students who are lacking a strong sense of personal control themselves. It is damaging for the expression of aspiration for students with a low sense of personal control to believe that others can control what happens in their lives or to believe that Negroes ought to be able to exercise internal control despite the obstacles presented by discrimination. Although students with a low sense of personal control already have lower occupational aspirations than those with higher personal control, their aspirations are even lower if they have incorporated a strong ideology that hard work, ability, and proper training are the most important determinants of whether people get ahead in life. To believe in the Protestant ethic, even to the point of more often attributing failure among Negroes to the lack of these Protestant virtues than to the external constraints of discrimination, may well result in self-blame and negative self-concepts as Negroes for students who lack the personal strengths

to apply the ethic in their own lives. These additional factors of self-blame and negative feelings as Negroes should operate to further depress the aspirations of students with a low sense of personal control. One element, then, that seems to be involved in the way in which these ideologies about success and failure affect aspiration concerns whether any self-blame is implied by holding an internal rather than external ideology.

Another element, more cognitive in nature, can be illustrated by the particular tie between attributing failure among Negroes to discrimination and aspiring for occupations that are nontraditional for Negroes. Since the tendency to blame discrimination enhances aspirations for nontraditional jobs regardless of how much control the students feel they have over their own lives, something beyond self-blame must be operating to account for yet another instance of positive consequences stemming from an external rather than an internal ideology about the causes for success and failure. We have suggested that this element may have to do with unusual cognitive attention given to discrimination among the students with nontraditional aspirations. To be attuned to new opportunities may require an unusual cognizance of discrimination. Students who are thinking about going into the new opportunity areas are bound to be aware of the way the social system has operated - first to discourage and now to encourage the entry of Negroes into certain of these occupations. The opportunity literature they read, the statements of recruiters and the efforts of counseling personnel in the Negro colleges converge with the same message: You are wanted in jobs that only a short time ago were either closed or, at best, quite difficult for Negroes to enter. The nontraditional aspirants who receive this message know that discrimination traditionally operated to the disadvantage of Negroes even if they were well trained and possessed the appropriate virtues. It is understandable, therefore,

that the nontraditional aspirants should be unusually aware of discrimination; their eyes and ears are tuned to cues that others with more traditional orientations may miss.

Thus, although it is clearly better for these Negro students to believe that they can control their own lives, it is sometimes better for continued hope and striving to hold an external rather than an internal ideology regarding the causes of success and failure for other people. This appears to be the case for students who are lacking strong personal control themselves. And it appears to be the case for all students when it comes to the impact of ideology on how nontraditional their aspirations are. Rather than having debilitating effects, the holding of an external ideology seems to have positive consequences for nontraditional aspirations so long as the external factors have to do with discrimination rather than the exigencies of fate. Most of the literature on the consequences of internal versus external control assumes that external forces are whimsical and that belief in their importance leaves one feeling powerless. Discrimination, however, is systematic instead of whimsical; it is a reality these students must assess. Attention to it may not imply a sense of powerlessness but rather an enhanced capacity to cope that comes from being more reality oriented about both the obstacles and opportunities for a Negro in this society.

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CHAPTER VIII

REALISM OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Many different conceptions of realism might be brought to bear on the question of how realistic these students' occupational choices are. At the most general level, a realistic orientation toward vocational planning should lead the individual to discover what occupations are best fitted to his own personal characteristics and needs. But this fit could be viewed in terms of the person's interests, his abilities or talents, his performance level, his training, his values and guiding ideology, even his responsibilities and commitments for the care of others. And certainly for Negro students, another kind of realism concerns how they judge the occupational opportunity structure. In the first place, there is the question of how accurately, and in this sense realistically, they judge the obstacles and opportunities that exist for Negroes in the chosen occupations in different regions of the country. Are they aware of the locations where opportunity in their chosen jobs is greatest? And, along with how accurately they judge the opportunity structure, there is also the question of how willing they are to move where there is maximal opportunity.

In this chapter we will consider only the former type of realism, the match between the occupation's demands and the student's personal characteristics. Hopefully, there will come a point when this kind of realism is the only kind that matters for Negroes - a time when Negro students can make choices wholly on the basis of personal qualities, interests and needs without concern about racial discrimination. And in the current situation, complex as it is with both increasing opportunities and persisting discrimination, it is important to understand what kinds of backgrounds, motivational

characteristics, and social experiences enhance the choice of occupations that do match the students' own personal qualities.

Vocational Realism and a Theory of Risk Taking

In this task we will focus on choices that are realistic in the sense of matching the students' histories of performance and abilities. By no means is this the only way to approach occupational realism. But this approach has proved useful in numerous studies which have been guided by a theory of achievement motivation and risk taking (Atkinson, 1957). Up to this point, we have examined only the height or level of the students' aspirations. But this theory of motivation suggests that a realistic aspiration, one that is in line with one's potential or performance, is much more indicative of positive and effective motivation than is an exceptionally high aspiration. High aspiration may indicate motivational strengths; it may also indicate avoidance of occupational challenge by aspiring so far beyond one's talents and abilities as to preclude a real test of self.

This theory predicts risk-taking preferences and performance in achievement-relevant situations as a function of three factors: approach and avoidance motives (need for achievement and need to avoid failure), subjective probabilities of success, and incentives attached to the goal in question. The assumptions about the interrelationships of these factors are such that arousal of both the approach and avoidance motives is expected to be at a maximum when the achievement task is of intermediate difficulty, that is, in tasks where the person's subjective probability of success is 50-50. This means, in a 50-50 probability situation, that a person whose approach-avoidance motives are of equal strength should be unable to act, either to approach or avoid the task, since both motives are maximally aroused. But he will attempt the task if his approach motive is stronger than his motive to

avoid failure; and he will try to avoid it if his fear of failure is stronger than his need for achievement.¹

Applying this theory to vocational aspiration, we will assume that the occupation that represents an intermediate risk is one that falls within a probable range of achievement - one that is likely to provide a challenge, but not an insurmountable obstacle, to a person given his own level of ability. Thus, it should be an occupation demanding a level of ability that is fairly well matched with the aspirant's abilities. Following the usual hypotheses about risk-taking preferences as a function of the relative strength of approach-avoidance motives, we would expect students who are strong in achievement and weak in anxiety to prefer an intermediate degree of risk, i.e., to set their level of aspiration so that it is realistically related to their own ability rather than having either extremely high or extremely low aspiration relative to their own ability. Conversely, students who are highly anxious (or for other reasons strongly avoidant in orientation) should choose occupations that fall outside the intermediate range of difficulty, ones that are well above or below their own ability.

In addition to testing these traditional hypotheses involving motive determinants, we will also be interested in this chapter in other determinants of this kind of occupational realism. For instance, are the realistic aspirants more likely to have high generalized expectancies of success than are either the under or overaspirants? Do the students' attitudes toward pioneering as Negroes or their ideologies about the causes for success and

¹All of this assumes that other sources of motivation are held constant. If nonachievement sources of motivation, such as the need for approval from the teacher, are also operative, they would add to the motivation coming from the positive and negative achievement motives. Other sources of motivation are undoubtedly at work in all natural situations such as the one we are concerned with here. The risk-taking model needs to assume, therefore, that other types of motivation are equally distributed across persons who vary in the relative strength of their motive to achieve and motive to avoid failure.

failure among Negroes relate systematically to the choice of an occupation that is realistically related to their own ability? We already know that high status parents apparently desire high ability occupations for their sons; at least sons from high status families whose parents have exercised influence in their choices are likely to choose high ability jobs. Do the parents from such homes want this regardless of how congruent the demands are with their sons' abilities and histories of performance? If the effect of family background operates without regard to the fit between ability and aspiration, we would expect from the previous findings that males from high status homes might be disproportionately overaspirant.

Methods

Measurement of Occupational Realism

To determine whether or not an occupational aspiration represents a realistic goal for an individual rather than overaspiration or underaspiration, we must have some measure of the level of general ability required for the occupation and some measure of the individual's level of general ability. Objective records from the schools provided measures of the students' ability and performance. Following the procedure employed by Mahone (1960), we made use of the judgments of the students themselves regarding the level of ability required for success in various occupations. The average of these judgments does not provide an infallible measure of ability requirements, but these peer judgments probably do represent the social reality in terms of which the students make decisions regarding their own futures.

The realism score corresponds to a Goal Discrepancy Score which is traditionally employed in experimental studies of level of aspiration. Two scores were calculated for each student. One involves the discrepancy between the ability required for the student's occupational choice (the percent judged by peers to have the ability for it) and the percentile of

the class that is represented by his cumulative grade point average; the other is the same except it involves the percentile of the class that is represented by the student's total SAT (Standard Achievement Test) score. Although most studies of realism have used only the test score as a measure of ability, we suspected that a discrepancy score based on test scores might be less meaningful in this population than one utilizing grade performance. Large numbers of these students report that they had taken very few intelligence tests before coming to college. It seemed likely, therefore, that they might judge their potential more in terms of grades than test scores about which they probably have very little information. Actually, the results are very similar regardless of which measure is used. In this chapter we will present and discuss the results based on the discrepancy between the occupation's ability requirements, as judged by peers, and the student's performance level, as represented by the cumulative grade point average.

Several examples may be given to illustrate the meaning of this score. If a student's cumulative grades place him in the 50th percentile in his class and he aspires to be an industrial scientist, for which the average estimate is that 19 percent have the requisite ability, the index of goal discrepancy would be high positive, +.31. Thus, such a student's aspiration is three percentiles higher in ability demands than his performance in college indicates his potential for the job would be. This would be coded an unrealistically high level of aspiration. On the other hand, if a student scoring at the level of the top 20 percent of his class in grade performance aspires for the same occupation, the index of goal discrepancy would be +1, suggesting a much more realistic aspiration.² An illustration of an unrealistic

²We recognize that the area of the student's achievements is important for certain jobs. Thus, in the case of aspiration to be an industrial scientist, it is probably more important whether the student has performed

underaspiration would be the case of a student standing at the top five percent of his class who aspires to be a bookkeeper. Since the students judging occupations say that the percentage having the requisite ability to be a bookkeeper is, on the average, approximately 40 percent, the index of goal discrepancy for this student would be a high negative, -35. In other words, this student's aspiration is over three percentiles lower in ability demands than his performance indicates his potential for the job would be.

Following the procedures employed in other studies (Mahone, 1960; Atkinson and O'Connor, 1963), we have defined a realistic aspiration as one falling in the range of +10 to -10 goal discrepancy scores. This means that any student who aspires for an occupation whose ability requirements are no more than ten percent higher or ten percent lower than his own performance is making a realistic choice. When the discrepancy is more than +10, he is overaspiring; when it is more than -10, he is underaspiring. The actual range of discrepancies for both the males and females (regardless of whether test scores or grades are used in the discrepancy score) is +80 to -80. The median goal discrepancy for the females is 0; for the males it is between +20 and +30. Thus, the males not only aspire higher than the girls (see Chapter III), they also are more likely to overaspire when we take some measure of performance into account.

Description of Other Measures

Measures of the motivational concepts, both the motive and expectancy factors, that are used in the analysis of occupational realism are described

well in mathematics and science than whether he has done well in English. And, of course, some students with a relatively low grade point average may have very high grades in math and science but quite low grades in the subjects capitalizing on verbal skills. It is possible, therefore, that using the GPA may result in more overaspiration than a procedure which tries to match performance and job demands within various academic content areas. In subsequent analyses we will try to do this by having judges rate the major skills required in different occupations and using in the analysis only those occupations which are consensually agreed to demand one kind of skill much more than others. Then the question of realism becomes whether the student's performance matches that kind of required skill.

in Chapter VII. The family and class background measures are described in Chapter VI. The few measures which are introduced for the first time in this chapter, such as realism of grade expectations and occupational decision-making, are described when their relationships to occupational realism are discussed in the results section.

Ability Control

In the analyses which follow, we have examined the factors which relate to occupational realism separately for high and low ability groups. A number of studies have observed that ability as measured by test scores seems to condition relationships between motivational characteristics and occupational realism. Furthermore, following the risk-taking model of Atkinson (1957), the direction of unrealistic behavior ought to differ for high and low ability groups. A student with high ability who has higher avoidance than approach motivation is most likely to avoid intermediate risk by underaspiring simply because it is difficult for him to overaspire. Few occupations are that much higher in ability demands than his own "high ability." For the same reason, a student with low ability who has higher avoidance than approach motivation is most likely to avoid intermediate risk by overaspiring. To some extent this is a statistical artifact connected with having high versus low scores. But it may also have subjective meaning to the student who is trying to avoid the challenge of intermediate risk. The procedure we have employed, using grade performance as the measure of potential in the realism score and employing test scores as the ability control, should reduce the strictly statistical aspects of the problem. At least, it is easier for a "high" ability student to overaspire on a measure and a "low" ability student to underaspire if the same measure of ability is not used in both the realism score and the control variable. This should help us explore, with as little

artifactual limitation as possible, the issue of whether the meaning of realistic and unrealistic behavior should differ in the high and low ability groups.

We wanted to use both a discrepancy measure of realism and an ability control that would have comparable meaning across institutions. This meant involving in this analysis only those institutions in which both grades and the same ability test were available. Since no ability or achievement tests were administered as part of this study, we were restricted to including the schools which ordinarily administer a common ability test as part of their entrance battery. The Standard Achievement Test (SAT) was the test with the greatest commonality at the time the data were collected; even so, it was administered in only five schools. In one of these schools, the only scores that were available were ones using that school as the norm group. This meant that the meaning of the scores could be considerably different from those of the other four schools. Thus, the schools included in the following analyses are the four which administered the SAT in their normal entrance examinations and whose raw test scores were available for use. "High" ability students are those above the median in the distribution of total SAT scores in this four-school population.

Results

The results presented here are only for the male students. Previous research with white college students has indicated that the risk-taking model applies best, if not exclusively, to males. It has been difficult to account for females' risk-taking preferences either in experimental tasks or in actual life choices. And the prediction that motivation should be at the height of arousal and, therefore, have the greatest effect on both performance and persistence in the intermediate risk situation has been only minimally explored and not well substantiated for females. It should not surprise us,

therefore, that the results for the females in this study are inconsistent. It is not that the results are consistently contrary to the motivational predictions. Instead, some are supportive and some contradictory in such a way that no pattern emerges for either the high or low ability females. We are in a position of not being able to interpret or conclude anything from the females' results. In contrast, the picture with respect to the males is much clearer. It is not always confirmatory of our expectations but it is consistent enough that the results seem to be more than chance findings. Furthermore, quite a distinct pattern emerges within each of the high and low ability groups.

Convergence Between Occupational Realism and Educational Aspirations

Before turning to some of the factors that differentiate realistic from unrealistic occupational choices, it may be of interest to explore whether realistic goal setting in the occupational domain bears any relationship to the students' educational goals and aspirations. We have examined its relationship to the realism that is reflected in the students' grade expectations, the incentive they attach to graduating from college, and how certain they are of finishing college and going on to graduate school. To the extent that occupational realism also denotes something about either the height or the realism of the students' educational goals, the analysis of what determines a realistic occupational choice assumes additional meaning. It would mean that the determinants may have relevance for a pattern of goal setting that is broader than simply the decision of what occupation to enter.

Realism of Grade Expectations

This measure concerns the extent to which the students' grade expectancies are guided by their past performance. They were asked to check, along a scale ranging from A+ to F, what average grade they "expect to have" at the end of

the academic year. Since these letter grades represent some numerical score at each of the schools, it was possible to calculate a goal discrepancy score by subtracting their actual grade point average from the numerical average they expect to have. The distribution of discrepancy scores was divided into thirds: the third with the largest negative discrepancies were called underaspirant in the sense of stating they expect to have lower grades than they actually had obtained; the third with the largest positive discrepancies were called overaspirant in the sense of expecting much higher grades than they currently had; and the third with intermediate discrepancies were called realistic in the sense that their grade expectations reflect rather closely their previous grade achievements.

In both the high and low ability groups, we find that realism of occupational goal setting is associated with this kind of realism regarding grade performance. (See Table 1.) In both ability groups, the students who underaspire in setting occupational goals are also disproportionately underaspirant regarding the realism of their grade expectations as well. Similarly, the occupational overaspirants disproportionately fall into the group of students who expect to obtain grades that are higher than past performance would indicate. And the students who set realistic occupational goals are the most likely to state grade expectations that conform closely to their previous achievements. This is particularly true in the high ability group but also tends to be the case in the low ability group.

Incentive Attached to College Graduation

It will be recalled that two questions were asked about the importance of graduating from college. One concerned the student's willingness to drop out of college for a good job that does not require a college degree; the other paired the importance of graduation from college with dropping out to get married.

TABLE VIII-1
Relationship Between Realism of the Males' Expectations Regarding Their
Grade Performance and the Realism of Their Occupational Aspirations

Extent to Which Students' Grade Expectancies Are Guided by Their Actual Grade Achievements	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
<u>Underaspirant</u> in sense of expecting lower grades at the end of academic year than the current GPA	48%	20%	14%	50%	31%	14%
<u>Realistic</u> in sense of grade expectations being close to the current GPA	19	48	23	14	34	28
<u>Overaspirant</u> in sense of expecting higher grades than the current GPA	33 100%	32 100%	63 100%	36 100%	35 100%	58 100%
	χ^2 significant at .02			χ^2 significant at .02		

The N's in these tables are relatively small because of attrition produced by some students having either test scores or grades but not both.

The results indicate that the realistic occupational aspirants do attach greater incentive to the goal of graduating from college. In the low ability group this emerges with both measures of incentive; the realistic aspirants are less likely than either the underaspirants or overaspirants to drop out for either a good job or to get married. In the high ability group it appears only with respect to the importance of college relative to dropping out for a good job that does not require a college degree; the realistic aspirants say they are less likely to drop out of college, significantly less than the underaspirants and slightly less than the overaspirants as well. Thus, the differences are sharper in the low ability group where the question of staying in college is undoubtedly more problematic than it is with students who should find the academic demands easier to meet.

Expectancies Attached to Educational Goals

It is the underaspirants who stand out as being different from both the realistic and overaspirants in how certain they are about finishing college and going to graduate school. In both ability groups the underaspirants are significantly less sure that they will go to graduate school. This difference also shows up with respect to finishing college in the low ability group - a group in which the objective probability of finishing college must be somewhat problematic, at least somewhat lower than it is in the high ability group. Thus, where attainment of educational goals is at least somewhat problematic, either because the goal is still in the future, as is the case of graduate school for all students, or represents high difficulty, as is the case of finishing college for low ability students, the students who underaspire in the occupational domain also express the lowest educational expectancies. Of course, their lower expectancies may not be unrealistic if their grade performances were taken into

TABLE VIII-2

Relationship Between Importance Attached to Graduating From College
(Educational Incentives) and Realism of Occupational Aspirations

	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Importance of College Relative to Dropping out for a Good Job						
Probably would drop out	5%	2%	3%	14%	-	6%
Might drop out	38	13	19	29	-	16
Probably wouldn't drop out	24	30	31	36	48	34
Definitely wouldn't drop out	33	55	47	21	52	44
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Realistic group significantly more committed to college than than underaspirants (t significant at .02)			Realistic group more committed than either the underaspirants or overaspirants (both t's significant at .01)		
Importance of College Relative to Dropping out for Marriage						
Probably would drop out	-	2%	3%	7%	-	5%
Might drop out	5	5	3	7	-	3
Probably wouldn't drop out	38	25	38	36	21	23
Definitely wouldn't drop out	57	68	56	50	79	69
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	No significant differences			Realistic group more committed than either the underaspirants or overaspirants (both t's significant at .05)		

TABLE VIII-3

Relationship Between Educational Expectations and Realism of Occupational Aspirations

	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
<u>Expectation of Finishing College</u>						
Completely certain of finishing	33%	40%	35%	23%	42%	44%
Pretty certain	62	55	57	62	48	48
At least some possibility of not finishing	5	5	8	15	9	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	No significant differences			No significant differences		
<u>Expectation of Going to Graduate School</u>						
Completely certain of going	20%	19%	20%	-	6%	18%
Pretty certain of going	20	51	51	36	56	46
Some possibility of not going	45	27	24	21	29	23
Probably will not go	15	3	5	43	9	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Underaspirants are less certain than other two (both t's significant at .05)			Underaspirants less certain than other two groups (both t's significant at .01)		

account as they are in the measure of occupational realism. But at least their expectations are depressed beyond those of other students whose ability is approximately equal.

Summary

In summary, we do find considerable convergence between the meaning of occupational realism and goal setting in the educational domain. The students who are most realistic about their occupational choices are also more realistic about their grade expectations; they expect to achieve grades that are fairly close to their previous performance levels. They are also more committed to college. This is particularly true of the realistic aspirants in the low ability group who are less likely than either of the unrealistic groups to drop out of college for either marriage or a good job that does not require a college degree. Finally, they (along with the overaspirants) have higher expectations of going to graduate school than is true of the under-aspirants of comparable ability.

Let us turn now to the results that bear on the reasons students differ in how realistic they are in making occupational choices, keeping in mind that their goal setting in the occupational domain has meaning for the way they approach educational goals as well. We will look first at the motivational factors that are hypothesized as being relevant to risk-taking behavior by the achievement-motivation theorists. Then we will examine how the students' family and class backgrounds may relate to setting realistic occupational goals. Finally, we will explore whether the realistic aspirants differ from the more unrealistic students in the processes by which they made their occupational decisions.

Realistic Choices and Approach-Avoidance Dispositions

Anxiety about failure seems to be important in goal setting behavior in both ability groups. Nevertheless, the predictions from the risk-taking model

are better supported in the low ability group than in the high ability group. (See Table 4.) In the low ability group, anxiety differentiates the realistic aspirants from both groups of unrealistic males - both the underaspirants and overaspirants have significantly higher anxiety than the males who are making realistic choices. In the high ability group, however, it is the underaspirants who stand out as being particularly high in anxiety while the overaspirants and the realistic males are very similar regarding their level of anxiety. Thus, it is only in the low ability group that anxiety is associated with avoidance of the intermediate risk in the sense of prompting either over or underaspiration. In the high ability group it simply differentiates the underaspirants from other students.

The approach-avoidance dispositions which were coded from the "life-values" questions are important only in the low ability group. (See Table 5.) Within that group, it is the underaspirants who are high in desire for security (higher than either of the other groups) and low in desire for recognition or success (significantly lower than the realistic aspirants). Thus, in a group that is equated for having relatively low ability in this population, we find that the students who aspire even lower than their ability scores suggest they should be particularly concerned about security and not very involved in achievements that would make others see them as successful people. The realistic group and the overaspirants in the low ability group are quite similar regarding these two orientations. It is the overaspirants, however, who stand out with respect to the achievement orientation. Their achievement scores are significantly higher than those of the realistic aspirants (and tend to be higher than the underaspirants also). Furthermore, the tie between involvement in achievement concerns and overaspiration also exists to some extent in the high ability group, although the differences between the overaspirants and other groups are not significant.

TABLE VIII-4
Relationship Between Fear of Failure and Realism of Occupational Choice

Test Anxiety	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Low anxiety (bottom third)	47%	50%	46%	21%	49%	34%
Moderate	5	26	31	50	30	34
High anxiety (top third)	48	24	23	29	21	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean anxiety (range = 20-98)	57.0	53.2	52.1	58.2	52.2	55.9

Underaspirants have higher anxiety than either of the other two groups (t comparison significant almost at .05)

Realistic aspirants have lower anxiety than either the under or overaspirants (both t's significant at .05)

TABLE VIII-5

Relationships Between the Orientations Coded From the "Life-Values"
Questions and Realism of Occupational Aspirations

Mean Scores on:	High Ability Males		Low Ability Males	
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)
Security Orientation (Range 0-3, 3 = high desire for security)	1.20	1.29	1.92	1.18
	No differences significant		Underaspirants are higher than either the realistic (t significant at .05) or over- aspirants (t significant at .025)	
Success Orientation (Range 0-2, 2 = high desire for success or recognition)	.55	.63	.38	.65
	No differences significant		Underaspirants significantly lower than realistic aspirants (t significant at .05)	
Achievement Orientation (Range 0-3, 3 = high achievement)	1.10	1.06	1.11	.88
	No differences significant		Overaspirants significantly higher than realistic aspirants (t significant at .05)	
				1.21
				1.36

These results using the achievement orientation measure raise an interesting question about the type of psychological disposition this measure represents. We noted in Chapter VII that while it relates positively to both prestige and ability aspirations, it is particularly important in differentiating students who are choosing occupations that are higher in ability demands than in prestige rewards. Now we find that it is not only associated with choices that are highly demanding of ability but also that it promotes choices that are unrealistically high in such demands, given the students' own levels of ability. This is particularly true in the low ability group but the tendency is also present among those with high ability. Thus, this achievement orientation is not operating as the need for achievement motive ought to work. Could it be that this orientation is different from the concept of motive as it is discussed by Atkinson and others? Perhaps the probability of success does not enter into the expression of this achievement orientation as it does in the expression of the achievement motive. The expression of this achievement orientation, which we might think of as an achievement value rather than a motive, may be a direct function of the incentive of the desired object rather than the function of both incentive and expectancy as is the case in the expression of the achievement motive. In the risk taking model, it is because of the peculiar (inverse) relationship of the expectancy and incentive attached to obtaining an achievement-relevant goal that the expression of the positive achievement motive (and for that matter, negative motive as well) is predicted to be at a maximum in the 50-50 probability situation. But, if the expression of this achievement value is subject only to the incentive factor, and in this way differs from the motive concept, it ought to bear a direct relationship to the height of aspiration. If so, it should not surprise us that it is associated with overaspiration rather than realistic choices.

The Role of Generalized Expectancies of Success

Two types of generalized expectancies of success are of interest here. One has to do with the students' sense of their own personal control, the extent to which they feel they, rather than the forces of fate, control what happens in their own lives. The other refers to a special internal-external control concept that involves the students' beliefs about the causes for failure among Negroes. The import of these generalized expectancy concepts for realistic goal setting is different from either the way the anxiety motive or the way values appear to relate to aspiration. Instead of relating to goal setting in both ability groupings, as does the anxiety motive, or only in the low ability group, as do the value-orientation measures, the generalized expectancies operate only in the high ability group. Thus, it is in a group with fairly high objective probabilities of success that relative differences in the students' subjective assessments of their general probabilities of success have some meaning for realistic behavior. And, where objective probabilities of success are lower by virtue of lower ability scores, the students' generalized expectancies of success are unimportant in determining how realistic their choices are.

In the high ability group, we find that the students' sense of their own personal control differentiates how realistic their occupational choices are. It is the realistic aspirants who have an especially high sense of personal control; they are significantly higher than the overaspirants and tend to be higher than the underaspirants as well. (See Table 6.) It is also in the high ability group that the students' ideologies about the causes for failure among Negroes relate to how realistic their aspirations are. It will be recalled that this measure asks students to evaluate the relative importance of discrimination versus personal inadequacies of Negroes themselves

TABLE VIII-6

Relationship Between Sense of Personal Control and Realism of Occupational Choices

Personal Control	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
(1) High	25%	31%	18%	8%	16%	15%
(2)	30	31	21	31	12	31
(3)	20	21	26	31	39	15
(4)	15	8	22	15	15	22
(5)	5	9	9	15	15	14
(6) Low	5	-	4	-	3	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean personal control (range 0-5, 0=high)	$\bar{X} = 1.60$	$\bar{X} = 1.35$	$\bar{X} = 2.00$	$\bar{X} = 2.40$	$\bar{X} = 2.42$	$\bar{X} = 2.39$

Realistic significantly higher personal control than overaspirants (t significant at .005)

No significant differences

in accounting for why Negroes may not get ahead. We find that the realistic aspirants in the high ability group are more likely than either the under-aspirants or the overaspirants to attribute failure to problems of discrimination. (See Table 7.) But, like the sense of personal control, this ideology about the causes of success and failure for other Negroes does not relate to realism of aspiration in the low ability group.

The explanation for the enhancement of realism among those high ability males with a high sense of personal control would seem to be fairly evident. But the explanation for the enhancement of realism among those who focus on discrimination in their ideologies about the causes for failure among Negroes is perhaps less obvious. When we discussed the results using this blame-attribution measure in the previous chapter, we suggested that at least two elements seem to be involved in the way the students' ideologies about this matter may affect their own aspirations. To review: One is illustrated by the findings with this measure among males who are lacking a strong sense of personal control themselves. The results indicate that it is damaging for the expression of prestige and ability aspirations for students with a low sense of personal control to believe in the importance of such internal virtues as hard work, ability, and "proper" values to the point of more often attributing failure among Negroes to the lack of these virtues than to the external constraints of discrimination. Although students with a low sense of personal control already have lower occupational aspirations than those with higher personal control, their aspirations are even lower if they more often attribute failure among Negroes to personal inadequacies of other Negroes than to racial discrimination. Thus, one element that seems to be involved in the way these ideologies about success and failure affect aspiration concerns whether any self-blame is implied in holding an internal rather than an external ideology. Another element is illustrated by the particular

TABLE VIII-7

Relationship Between the Blame Attribution Scale and Realism of Occupational Choice

Beliefs About the Causes of Failure Among Negroes	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
(1) High belief in personal inadequacies of Negroes as causative factors	10%	3%	15%	21%	12%	10%
(2)	14	6	24	21	32	27
(3)	42	46	41	44	32	33
(4)	29	38	12	7	9	21
(5) High belief in discrimina- tion as a causative factor	5	7	8	7	15	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean Blame Attribution (Range 0-4, 4 = high belief in discrimination)	$\bar{X} = 2.05$	$\bar{X} = 2.40$	$\bar{X} = 1.72$	$\bar{X} = 1.57$	$\bar{X} = 1.82$	$\bar{X} = 1.92$
	Realistic aspirants more likely to blame discrimination than either overaspirants (.01) or underaspirants (.05)			No significant differences		

tie between attributing failure among Negroes to discrimination and aspiring for occupations that are nontraditional for Negroes. Since the tendency to blame discrimination enhances aspirations for nontraditional jobs regardless of how much control the students feel they have over their own lives, we suggested that this is probably explained by something beyond self-blame. This additional element was suggested as having something to do with cognitive sophistication about the way the social system operates that may both result from and produce greater attention to the issues of discrimination and opportunity.

Now we find that the high ability students who emphasize discrimination as important in explaining why Negroes may not get ahead are also more realistic in their own occupational aspirations. On the face of it, this sounds as if it has to do more with cognitive sophistication than with any self-blame implications that may be associated with focusing on personal inadequacies of Negroes. But we wondered if this relationship would hold regardless of how much personal control these students feel they have about their own lives. If it holds only among those with relatively low personal control for a high ability group, the self-blame explanation may be more important than one which highlights the importance of cognitive sophistication. This was explored by splitting the high ability group at the median on the personal control scale to see if the relationship between the blame-attribution scale and occupational realism would hold both among those with "high" and those with relatively "low" personal control. And we find that it does; in both the high and low personal control groups, the realistic aspirants are significantly (probability .05) more likely to blame discrimination than are either the underaspirants or overaspirants. Regardless of relative differences in these high ability males' assessments of their own capacities to control

their own lives, the more often they attribute failure among Negroes to discrimination rather than some inadequacy of the Negro, the more realistic they are in setting their own occupational aspirations. This is not to deny that the issue of self-concept and self-blame is unimportant. But the more important factor would seem to be the cognitive dimension of realism that may be operating both in the way the students assess their own goals and the way they view the impact of the social system in the lives of Negro Americans.

In summary, it is in the high ability group that generalized expectancies of success emerge as important for realistic goal setting. In the low ability group, which has lower objective probability of success in the first place, neither the sense of personal control nor the students' ideologies about success and failure are relevant in distinguishing realistic from unrealistic aspirations. Where subjective expectancies can become important as they can when the objective probability is fairly high, we find that the realistic males, those who aspire to occupations that match their own abilities, are also more likely to be those who have a high belief in their own capacities to succeed and who more often attribute the difficulties other Negroes experience to factors of discrimination than to personal inadequacies of the Negroes themselves.

Attitudes Toward Pioneering and Toward Being Geographically Mobile

The role of the students' attitudes toward pioneering in setting realistic occupational goals is also seen primarily in the high ability group. It is true, however, that the direction of the relationships are much the same in the low ability group; they simply fail to reach statistical significance. In the high ability group, we find that willingness to be an occupational pioneer is associated with realism while the willingness to be an educational pioneer is associated with overaspiration. (See Table 8.) Thus, it is the realistic aspirants who are the most willing to "take a job as the first Negro

TABLE VIII-8

Relationships Between Attitudes Toward Pioneering and Geographical Mobility and Realism of Occupational Choices

Mean Willingness ¹ to Pioneer in the Following Ways:	High Ability Males		Low Ability Males	
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Take a job as the first Negro to be hired in that position	2.35 No significant differences	2.29 No significant differences	2.50 No significant differences	2.34 2.39
Take a good job but in a situa- tion of being the only Negro in the company	2.61 Realistic group more willing than underaspirants (.05)	2.26 2.37	2.86 No significant differences	2.50 2.42
Go to graduate school in recently integrated southern university	2.80 Overaspirants more willing than both underaspirants and realistic group (both t's significant at .05)	2.81 2.53	3.00 No significant differences	2.85 2.65
Be the first Negro to desegre- gate a southern college	3.40 Overaspirants more willing than realistic group (.05)	3.37 3.06	3.50 Overaspirants more willing than both underaspirants and realistic group (.05)	3.44 3.03
Mean Willingness to:				
Take a job with excellent oppor- tunities but so far from home that I couldn't see my parents very often (Range 2-5, 2 = high willingness)	2.63 Realistic group more willing than either under or overaspirants (both t's significant at .05)	2.39 2.63	2.93 Realistic group more willing than overaspirants (t significant at .05) and underaspirants (between .10 and .05)	2.52 2.83

¹Range for each item is 1-5, 1 = high willingness.

to be hired in that position" or to "take a good job but in a situation of being the only Negro in the company." But, it is the overaspirants who are especially willing, even more than the realistic aspirants, to "go to graduate school in a recently integrated southern university" or to "be the first Negro to desegregate a southern college." This connection between willingness to desegregate a southern college and overaspiration in the occupational sphere also holds in the low ability group.

The significance of these results is highlighted by the fact that there is less responsivity in this population as a whole to pioneering in educational settings than to pioneering in the job market. Many fewer students are completely sure they would be willing to be educational pioneers than to be the first or only Negro in a job situation. Thus, we learn that occupational pioneering is both more acceptable in this population and is associated with realistic goal setting, at least in the occupational choice process, while willingness to be an educational pioneer is not only rarer but also apparently reflective of overaspiration rather than realistic goal setting.

Of course, these are all students who have chosen not to be educational pioneers or, if not self-consciously chosen, at least have not had the experience of being the only or one of the few Negroes attending a white school. Therefore, we should not assume from these results that actual pioneering would be associated with overaspirant goal setting. All we can say from these data is that the expression of strong willingness to take on the lonely role of the Negro who "integrates" an educational institution may demand a somewhat overaspirant orientation among students who have not yet had the experience of attending any of the recently desegregated schools in the south.

Although attitudes toward pioneering seem to have import primarily in the high ability group, the results indicate that willingness to be geographically mobile to maximize job opportunities is associated with realistic occupational aspirations regardless of ability. In both the high and low ability groups, the realistic aspirants are significantly more willing than are either the underaspirants or overaspirants to go far from home for an excellent job opportunity. (See Table 8.)

Class and Family Background

At the beginning of this chapter we suggested that if the effect of family background operates without regard to the fit between ability and aspiration, the results discussed in Chapter VI would lead us to expect that males from high status homes might be disproportionately overaspirant. What we find is that class and family influence variables are generally unimportant in differentiating realistic from unrealistic choices in the high ability group. The only exception is that the mothers of the realistic aspirants in the high ability group have higher educational attainments than either the mothers of the underaspirants or overaspirants. Thus, according to this one class-related family characteristic, high status backgrounds are associated with realistic rather than overaspirant goal setting.

Where class backgrounds of the students do play an important role in goal setting is in the low ability group. Here the underaspirants stand out as coming from lower status backgrounds. Both of their parents are considerably less educated than the parents of either the realistic or overaspirant students in the low ability group. (See Tables 9 and 10.) Their families are less intact and they come from homes with lower family incomes than is true of either the realistic or overaspirants. (See Tables 11 and 12.) Furthermore, their fathers and their mothers are felt to have played a less important role in their decisions of what occupations to enter, significantly

TABLE VIII-9

Relationship Between Family Income and Realism of the Males' Occupational Choices

Family Income	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Low (less than \$2,400)	15%	8%	12%	17%	9%	10%
\$2,400 - \$3,599	5	18	11	33	15	10
\$3,600 - \$5,999	35	19	27	25	21	23
High (\$6,000+)	45	55	50	25	55	57
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean Income	3.10	3.21	3.16	2.58	3.21	3.27
(Range 1-4, 4 = high)	No significant differences			Realistic and overaspirants higher than underaspirants (both t's significant at .05)		

TABLE VIII-10

Relationship Between Intactness of the Home and Realism of Males' Occupational Choices

Type of Family Structure	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Reared by both parents	71%	81%	87%	57%	85%	82%
Reared by mother (alone or in combination with other females)	24	18	10	22	12	10
Reared in some other family structure	5	1	3	21	3	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	χ^2 not significant			χ^2 significant between .10 and .05		

TABLE VIII-11

Relationship Between Father's Education and Realism of Son's Occupational Choice

Amount of Fathers' Education	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Completed 8th grade or less	27%	24%	31%	56%	7%	24%
Some high school	20	13	12	33	21	20
Completed high school	7	14	21	11	27	23
Some college	20	18	3	-	7	8
Completed college	13	13	15	-	14	15
Some post-college work	13	18	18	-	24	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean Level (Range 1-6, 6 = high)	3.13	3.34	3.09	1.56	3.72	3.01
	No significant differences			Realistic group's fathers higher than both underaspirants' (.001) and overaspirants' (.05); overaspirants' higher than underaspirants (.001)		

TABLE VIII-12

Relationship Between Mother's Education and Realism of Son's Occupational Choice, Controlling for Ability

Amount of Mothers' Education	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Completed 8th grade or less	26%	10%	18%	18%	9%	20%
Some high school	21	10	12	9	22	16
Completed high school	26	16	40	73	21	17
Some college	8	21	7	-	13	13
Completed college	8	25	11	-	19	17
Some post-college work	11	18	12	-	16	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean Level (Range 1-6, 6 = high)	2.89	3.95	3.18	2.63	3.56	3.47
	Realistic group's mothers higher than both under and overaspirants (.01)			Realistic and overaspirants' mothers higher than underaspirants (both t's significant at .05)		

less important than the parents of the overaspirants but somewhat less important than the realistic group as well. (See Table 13.)

These results indicate that it is the low ability students from lower status homes whose aspirations are most severely depressed. Not only are their prestige and ability aspirations relatively low, they are also choosing occupations whose ability demands are even lower than their ability scores would suggest they can handle. It is these students who need other supports to bring their aspirations up to the level of other students with comparable ability. In contrast, the aspirations of the high ability students from lower status homes do not seem to be adversely affected. The lower status students in the high ability group are just as likely as other students to make realistic choices. And they are not disproportionately underaspirant as they are in the low ability group. Apparently, when students have relatively high ability, their family backgrounds are unimportant in their goal setting behavior. Instead, what seems to be important is their own subjective awareness of their strengths and weaknesses - their generalized expectancies of success and failure along with their levels of anxiety about failure. But when students have relatively low ability, their aspirations seem to suffer when the parents, by virtue of their positions in the social structure, either cannot provide models for them or lack the power to effectively influence them toward higher aspirant roles.

Differences in the Decision-Making of Realistic Versus Other Aspirants

We have learned that students who differ in how realistic they are in making occupational choices also differ in other ways. In both the high and low ability group they differ regarding their anxiety about failure; in the high ability group they differ with respect to their generalized expectancies of success, their ideologies about the causes of success and failure, their attitudes toward pioneering and geographical mobility; in the low ability

TABLE VIII-13

Relationships Between Amount of Parental Influence in the Son's
Choice Process and How Realistic the Choice Is, Controlling for Ability

Mean Importance of:	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Father (4 point scale, 4 = crucial)	1.70	1.79	2.03	1.43	1.71	2.08
	No t significant			Underaspirants' fathers less im- portant than overaspirants (.001)		
Mother	2.48	1.95	2.26	1.79	2.00	2.40
	No t significant			Underaspirants' mothers less im- portant than overaspirants (.001)		

group they differ regarding their family backgrounds and some of their broad value orientations. It is also of interest whether they differ in the processes by which they made decisions about what occupation to enter.

The relationship between occupational realism and the decision-making process is much the same regardless of the student's level of ability. In both the high and low ability groups we find that the underaspirants have made more recent decisions than either of the other groups. It is primarily that a much smaller proportion of them say they decided what occupation to enter before the senior year in high school. (See Table 14.) But they also feel they have had more difficulty in obtaining job information and are less satisfied with their choices, at least in the sense of a smaller proportion saying it is their life-time choice. (See Tables 15 and 16.)

We had expected that the students who make late rather than early decisions about their future occupational roles would hold the most realistic aspirations; later decisions should make it possible for them to use information about their talents, abilities, and interests that only becomes available through cumulative education and other developmental experiences. Instead, we find that late decisions are associated with underaspiration. The underaspirants appear to be open to new choices, more so than either of the other groups - but they need help. The late choices they are making are not commensurate with their ability nor are they as satisfying to them as are the choices of the more realistic and overaspirant students. This seems to point to a counseling need among the underaspirants of both ability groups.

Actually, from a counseling point of view, one of the most striking findings about the process of choosing an occupation is the fact that both the underaspirants and overaspirants feel they have had greater difficulty than the realistic aspirants in obtaining job information. The underaspirants express the most difficulty but the overaspirants also say it has been more

TABLE VIII-14

Relationship Between How Long the Male Students Have Known What
Occupation They Want To Enter and the Realism of Their Occupational Choice

How Long Have You Known This Is the Occupation You Want To Enter	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
As far back as I can remember	-	2%	6%	-	3%	7%
Sometime during grade school	5	18	14	-	21	14
First few years of high school	19	33	36	14	31	20
Senior year in high school	47	21	23	29	15	22
After high school but before college	10	5	8	21	9	11
Since coming to college	19	21	13	36	21	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Average length of time (Range 1-6, 6 = short)	4.19	3.73	3.49	4.79	3.68	3.97
	Underaspirants have made more recent decisions than either of the other groups (both t's significant at .05)			Underaspirants have made more recent decisions (both t's significant at .01)		

TABLE VIII-15

Relationship Between the Male Students' Assessments of How Difficult It Is
To Get Job Information and the Realism of Their Occupational Aspirations

Difficulty in Obtain- ing Job Information	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Very difficult	5%	2%	9%	7%	3%	5%
Fairly difficult	42	17	17	35	12	44
A little difficult	29	48	47	29	53	28
Not at all difficult	24	33	27	29	32	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean Difficulty (Range 1-4, 1 = high difficulty)	2.61	3.20	2.92	2.08	3.15	2.69
	The underaspirants find it more difficult than the realistic aspirants (t significant at .05)			Both underaspirants and overaspirants find it more difficult (t's significant at .05)		

TABLE VIII-16

Relationship Between Satisfaction With the Choice (Length of Time Plan To Work in the Occupation) and Realism of the Choice

How Long Do You Plan To Work in This Occupation?	High Ability Males			Low Ability Males		
	Under Aspirants (N=31)	Realistic Aspirants (N=62)	Over Aspirants (N=79)	Under Aspirants (N=24)	Realistic Aspirants (N=44)	Over Aspirants (N=87)
Just a short time - less than five years	13%	8%	-	17%	-	3%
Five to ten years	19	12	7	17	3	6
All my life unless something better comes along	43	41	43	66	54	41
It's my life-time choice	25	39	50	-	43	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Average Time
(Range 1-4, f = long)

$\bar{X} = 2.81$ $\bar{X} = 3.12$ $\bar{X} = 3.43$ $\bar{X} = 2.50$ $\bar{X} = 3.40$ $\bar{X} = 3.38$
 Overaspirants are more satisfied than the other two groups (both t's significant at .02)
 Both the realistic and overaspirants more satisfied than the underaspirants (both t's significant at .01)

difficult than the realistic students, significantly so in the low ability group and at least somewhat more in the high ability group as well. This does not mean that the realistic aspirants are necessarily receiving better counseling or fuller information. Indeed, their realism may have nothing to do with counseling or any other educational program. But these data do point to an unmet need among both types of unrealistic students. The data also indicate, however, that the nature of the programs and counseling approaches might differ in the high and low ability groups since different factors appear to be associated with realistic goal setting in the two ability groups. We will summarize these differences in the discussion section below and return to their counseling implications in the final chapter of this report.

Summary

The discussion in this chapter has been restricted to analyses of the male data and to realism of just their occupational choices. It is true, however, that there is considerable convergence between the meaning of occupational realism and goal setting in the educational domain. The students who are most realistic about their occupational choices are also more realistic about their grade expectations. They expect to achieve grades that are fairly close to their previous performance levels. They also attach greater incentive to the goal of graduating from college. And, along with the over-aspirants, they have higher expectancies of going to graduate school than is true of the underaspirants of comparable ability. This means that what we have learned about the factors associated with making realistic occupational choices may have relevance for educational goal setting as well.

What we have learned about the factors associated with occupational realism can be summarized under two rubrics: (1) what we have learned about patterns of aspiration - the factors associated distinctively with realistic, under and over aspiration, and (2) what we have learned about the conditioning

effects that ability appears to have regarding the determinants of realistic goal setting.

Patterns of Aspiration

The risk-taking model on which this approach to occupational realism is based generates predictions about people who prefer and those who would rather avoid intermediate risk situations. Therefore, from a theoretical point of view, it is of interest to highlight the ways in which the realistic aspirants are distinguishable from all of the unrealistic aspirants. On the other hand, the model says very little about another theoretical and practical problem - the differences between two types of unrealistic students, those who underaspire and those who overaspire to avoid intermediate risk. We have been interested in this issue as well. What have we found associated with each of three types of aspiration - realistic and both types of unrealistic choices?

The distinguishing characteristics of realistic goal setting have to do with anxiety about failure, generalized expectancies of success, ideologies about the causes of failure among Negroes, attitudes toward geographical mobility, and assessments of how difficult it has been to obtain job information. Of course, the role of these characteristics depends to some extent on the ability level of the students. It is in the low ability group, particularly, that we find the realistic aspirants expressing less anxiety about failure than either of the unrealistic groups. It is in the high ability group that the realistic aspirants have an especially high sense of personal control and are more likely than unrealistic aspirants to blame discrimination rather than inadequacies of Negroes when other Negroes fail. And, in both ability groups, the realistic aspirants are distinguished from all others in their willingness to go far from home to maximize their job opportunities and in their sense of relative ease in obtaining job information. Most of

these characteristics that are distinctive of realism, in one ability group or another, have something to do with the students' cognitive capacities - their assessments of themselves, their views about the way the world operates and what it demands for maximal success - and with the use they have made of these capacities to cope effectively with the world. In many ways they seem to be highly tuned to the world around them and the way it bears on their futures.

The underaspiration pattern, as reflected in the ways the underaspirants differ from both the realistic students and the overaspirants, is considerably different. It seems to have more to do with a general restrictiveness of the environment the underaspirants have experienced and with their reaction to the environment with caution and heightened concern with security. This is particularly true for the low ability underaspirants. They are more likely to come from homes where the parents have less education, lower incomes and are less influential in their occupational decisions than is true of either the realistic students or overaspirants. Thus, their home environments are more restrictive in the kinds of models that could serve to influence their aspirations. And they, themselves, are focused more than are the other students in working out a life that promises economic and family security; they are less concerned with roles that would bring them recognition from others. Both of these orientations are understandable reactions to their more insecure backgrounds. Furthermore, regardless of their ability levels, the underaspirants are less likely to approach the occupational world with a willingness to be a Negro pioneer. In this sense, they are also more cautious about their future occupational roles. They are not only playing it safe by choosing occupations that should be unchallenging, in light of their ability; they are also less willing to take the risk of being the only Negro in a company. Finally, they are students who have made fairly recent decisions,

at least more recent than the other groups, and are relatively less satisfied with their choices. They appear to be open to new choices but need help in making choices that are commensurate with their abilities and more satisfying to them.

The distinguishing characteristics of overaspiration have to do with placing a high value on achievement and with being willing to be the first or only Negro student in a southern college or graduate school. Thus, overaspiration in the occupational domain seems to reflect a general lack of concern or denial of the importance of ability in determining goals and values. The attachment of high value to achievement, regardless of one's ability, would seem to be the more general manifestation of desiring a very demanding, high ability job without concern for its match to one's ability. Furthermore, their heightened willingness to pioneer in educational settings may have a similar meaning. Regardless of how we might evaluate the desirability of Negro students entering predominantly white schools, it is clear that educational pioneering is much less acceptable in this population than is pioneering in an occupational setting. To be an educational pioneer seems to involve higher risk in the eyes of these students. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is the overaspirants in this population who are the most willing to do something which is generally regarded with some caution. Thus, in several ways other than their occupational choices, these overaspirants seem to value and desire difficult and challenging situations.

Role of Ability

In the preceding discussion of patterns of aspiration we have already pointed to the fact that certain motivational and background factors distinguish types of goal setting in either the high ability group or the low ability group but not in both. It may be helpful, nevertheless, to focus directly on the role that ability plays in conditioning the determinants of realistic goal setting.

One set of factors that has differential importance in the high and low ability groups has to do with achievement-relevant values. It is in the low ability group, for instance, that the underaspirants stand out in having high security values and in placing low value on accomplishments that would be viewed by others as indicators of success. Furthermore, the connection between overaspiration and holding high achievement values is more marked in the low than in the high ability group. It appears that where ability is high, the role of values is not very important in goal setting behavior. Perhaps this is simply because high ability itself is enough to prompt both higher and more realistic aspirations. A high ability student has probably been told many times that a "person with your ability should strive to do something that takes advantage of your potential." Such a student does not need to be told to value achievement or success. It is probably taken for granted that he does. Instead, it is because of his ability that he is urged to strive for certain roles in life. But how many students with relatively low ability have been encouraged to try for goals that match their abilities? Some teachers and parents may attempt to dissuade youngsters whom they suspect of having little potential from shooting too high. Generally, however, the issue of ability is probably underplayed with such students. Instead, they are likely to be told that "if you value getting ahead, nothing can stop you" or "the important thing in life is trying to be a success and doing your best." The aspirations of low ability students who have accepted these value admonishments are probably enhanced, perhaps to an unrealistic height given their abilities. It should not be surprising, therefore, that individual differences in such values are found to differentiate the low ability students who are choosing occupations that are at least commensurate with their ability from those who are underaspiring.

It is also in the low ability group that social and family background are particularly important in goal setting behavior. It is the low ability students from lower status homes in which the parents have had relatively little influence whose aspirations are most severely depressed. The ability demands of their occupational choices are even lower than their test scores suggest they could handle. In contrast, the aspirations of the high ability students from lower status homes do not seem to be adversely affected. The lack of high aspirant models in the backgrounds of high ability students is probably not so important, since they are likely to have been encouraged by teachers and other nonfamily models to develop aspirations that fit their high abilities. But this kind of compensatory support is undoubtedly given less frequently to low ability students. Lacking other supports, their aspirations appear to suffer when they come from low status homes, since their parents either cannot provide models for them or cannot influence them toward higher aspirant roles that might be closer to the potential they do have.

Instead of values and social background factors, it is the students' judgments of the world and their sense of mastery in the world that seem to be important in the high ability group. For instance, it is in the high ability group that individual differences in the students' generalized expectancies of success have some meaning for realistic behavior. It is there that the students' sense of their own personal control differentiates how realistic their occupational choices are. All of the students in this group have enough ability to strive for high aspirant roles. And when they also strongly believe in themselves and their capacities to control or master the environment, they apparently want occupational roles in which they can be successful - those that are fairly well matched to their abilities and talents. In contrast, where the objective probability of success is lower by virtue of

lower ability, the issue of how the students judge their own personal control is unimportant in determining how realistic their choices are.

Similarly, it is in the high ability group that the students' ideologies about the role of discrimination in the lives of Negro Americans are found to relate to the realism of their aspirations. This makes a great deal of sense since the impact of discrimination should be clearer to a high ability student. He may experience less discrimination in the current job market than was the case even a few years ago. But when he meets discrimination, it is probably clearer to him than to students with lower ability that it is discrimination. When both personal qualifications and race are at issue, the role of discrimination is more difficult to determine. It is also possible that relatively high ability is required to make judgments about the way the social system operates to structure the opportunities of Negroes. But whether it is because high ability students have had more frequent, or at least less ambiguous, confrontations with discrimination or that they have higher sophistication about the social world, the issue of discrimination would seem to have greater relevance in a high than in a low ability group. Is it surprising, then, that it is in a high ability group that individual differences in emphasis placed on discrimination are found to relate to the students' own goal setting behavior? And this is what we find. The realistic aspirants are more likely than either the under or overaspirants with comparably high ability to attribute the failure of other Negroes to problems of discrimination. They seem to be more reality bound not only about their own goals but about the social world as well.

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CHAPTER IX

INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNING OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Since a major objective of the study was to examine different modes of institutional patterning of motivation, the schools included in the study were chosen to provide a wide diversity of types of institutions. The schools vary in type of sponsorship; some are public, others private schools. Some are ranked higher academically than others by an accrediting association. They also vary in the positions taken regarding student participation in civil rights activities.

By selecting schools which vary in these dimensions, we hoped to maximize the likelihood of obtaining very different motivational climates. Of course, schools that vary in these ways may present different climates by recruiting different kinds of students in the first place, by socializing students in different ways, or by some combination of both recruitment and socialization. At least, if they differ, there is something to be explained. The fact of diversity makes it possible to analyze the institutional conditions that differentiate the aspirations of students.

Questions Guiding the Analysis of Institutional Patterns of Aspirations

We have already seen in Chapter II that these ten schools do differ in numerous ways. The interest in this chapter is how these differences are patterned and how these institutional patterns condition the levels of aspiration in the ten schools. The specific questions of interest are:

1. Do the institutions included in the study also differ in their students' occupational aspirations?
2. Are such differences systematically related to the institutional characteristics used to select the ten schools? What other

institutional characteristics seem to be helpful in explaining institutional differences in the students' occupational aspirations?

3. To what extent are these differences a function of recruitment? Is selectivity important enough to show institutional differences in freshmen at the time of entering college?
4. Do these institutions differentially affect their students' over and beyond the fact that they may recruit students with different aspirations in the first place?

Overall Differences Among the Ten Institutions

Institutions can be treated simply as a nominal variable. In this sense, the ten schools are ten different categories, ten types of entities. Treated this way, we are interested in overall differences among these ten entities. Is the average level of aspiration significantly different in these ten schools?

The results show that there are overall differences among the ten schools on all dimensions of occupational aspirations. (See Table 1.) The range of differences in these ten schools can be illustrated by the contrast of the highest and lowest aspirant schools. Considering first the prestige of the students' occupational aspirations, we find that the top aspirant school has 56 percent of its students while the low aspirant school has only 13 percent in the upper quarter of the prestige distribution for the whole population. The contrast of extreme schools with respect to ability aspirations is approximately the same; 55 percent of the students in the highest aspirant school but only 15 percent in the lowest school fall in the upper quarter of the ability-competence distribution. Finally, the school with the most nontraditional aspirations has 42 percent of its students in the upper quarter of the nontraditionality distribution while the most traditional school has only 13 percent. Of course, the student aspirations in some schools are markedly similar. These extreme differences simply highlight the fact that, among

TABLE IX-1

Institutional Differences in Level of Students' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of:	Institutions									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.23	2.17	1.96	2.21	2.05	2.30	2.12	2.12	2.18	2.05
	F significant at .001									
<u>Ability Demands</u> (7 point scale, 1 = high)	4.14	3.79	3.10	3.84	3.57	4.19	3.78	3.56	3.91	3.47
	F significant at .001									
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (Range of percent Negro from .3% to 22% - means given represent average percent Negro in the occupations chosen by students in the various institutions)	4.75	4.42	2.82	4.18	3.86	4.31	4.20	4.44	3.99	3.92
	F significant at .001									

these ten institutions, there are some very different worlds and motivational climates.

These overall institutional differences in the students' prestige, ability, and nontraditionality aspirations hold for both males and females. (See Table 2.) The only way in which sex conditions the general picture of overall institutional differences is that the desirability of the girls' choices does not differ according to which schools they attend while the desirability of the males' choices is just as institutionally tied as any other dimension of their aspirations. By and large, however, the institutional picture of aspirations is remarkably similar for both sexes. Indeed, practically the same schools emerge as high and low aspirant schools for both males and females. Apart from the fact that one high aspirant school is an all male institution, exactly the same schools show high and low aspiration patterns for both sexes regarding both the prestige and ability characteristics of jobs. With the males, these same schools are the high and low schools with respect to nontraditionality aspirations as well; with the females, however, these schools are not distinctively nontraditional or traditional. Instead, some other schools emerge as high and low aspirant schools with respect to the nontraditionality of females' choices. With this one exception, the consistency of institutional patterns of aspiration across the various dimensions for both the males and females is quite impressive.

Institutional Characteristics That Relate to
Institutional Levels of Student Aspiration

To know that schools differ is interesting; it defines a problematic situation, something to be explained. To know what kinds of schools are high aspirant and what kinds are low aspirant provides something of an explanation. At least the association of certain institutional characteristics with institutional patterns of student aspiration begins to explain the fact of difference.

TABLE IX-2
Institutional Differences in Students' Occupational Aspirations Controlling for Sex

	Institutions									
	Males					Females				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.17	2.10	1.96	2.13	1.94	2.25	2.04	2.05	2.10	1.92
	F significant at .001					F significant at .001				
<u>Desirability to Like-Sexed Peers</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.74	2.66	2.42	2.69	2.46	2.84	2.55	2.54	2.63	2.36
	F significant at .001					F not significant				
<u>Ability Demands</u> (7 point scale, 1 = high)	3.86	3.48	3.10	3.48	3.19	3.82	3.31	3.17	3.57	2.92
	F significant at .001					F significant at .001				
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (Range of percent Negro from .3% to 22% - means given represent average percent Negro in the occupations chosen by students in the various institutions)	4.42	3.44	2.82	3.33	2.91	4.05	2.86	2.30	3.53	2.19
	F significant at .001					F significant at .001				

If we also have evidence that institutions with certain characteristics seem to enhance their students' aspirations more than others, these institutional factors may be modifiable to the educational advantage of students in the low aspirant schools.

Implications of the Characteristics Used in Selecting Schools for Student Aspiration

Among the institutional characteristics of interest in the study are the three bases on which the schools were selected - type of sponsorship of the school, academic rank, and administrative position regarding student participation in civil rights. We had assumed that variation on these characteristics would produce variation in motivation as well. We have just seen that selecting schools in these ways did result in overall institutional differences in students' occupational aspirations. Is there also evidence that each of these characteristics would differentiate level of the students' aspirations? Do the public schools differ from the private ones with respect to their students' occupational aspirations? Do the schools considered to be among the highest academic grouping differ from those with somewhat lower academic ranking? Do the aspirations of students in schools that have exercised some constraint over student participation in civil rights differ from those in schools with a history of permissiveness about this issue?

Difference in means tests indicate that students in private schools do have consistently higher aspirations than students in public schools. (See Table 3.) The size of the differences can be illustrated by the proportions of students in private and public schools falling in the upper quarter of aspiration for the whole population - 33 percent or the private school students but 19 percent of the public school students on the prestige dimension, 36 percent private but 20 percent public on the ability-competence dimension, and 30 percent private but 19 percent public on the nontraditionality dimension.

Similarly, the students attending schools considered among the highest academic grouping have higher aspirations than those attending schools with somewhat lower academic ranking. (See Table 3.) The size of these differences with respect to academic ranking of the schools is very much the same as those illustrated in the private-public comparisons.

In the comparison of student aspirations in schools differing in amount of administrative constraint over civil rights participation, only those schools were used where the issue of participation had existed in the year or two previous to the study. Six schools fit this criterion. By virtue of faculty firings, student expulsions, or administrative directives about cessation of participation, three of these schools can be described as showing public evidence of some constraint over participation. The administrations of the other three schools, though not necessarily encouraging participation, had not publicly discouraged it by any of these administrative constraints. Two of each type are public schools and one of each type is private.

Again, we find significant differences on all dimensions of occupational aspiration. (See Table 3.) The students in high constraint schools have significantly lower aspirations than students in schools with less constraint. The relative differences in the two types of schools, shown by the proportion of each falling into the upper quarter of aspiration for the whole population, are as follows: 17 percent of the students in the high constraint but 28 percent in low constraint on the prestige dimension, 20 percent in high constraint but 28 percent in low constraint on the ability-competence dimension, and 18 percent in high constraint but 28 percent in low constraint on the nontraditionality dimension. These differences say very little, however, about a possible relationship between actual participation in civil rights and student aspirations. After all, the fact that students are not discouraged

TABLE IX-3

Differences Between Schools Varying in Type of Sponsorship, Academic Ranking and Administrative Position Regarding Civil Rights Participation With Respect to Their Students' Occupational Aspirations

Mean Level of Students' Occupational Aspirations on:	3a. Differences for Males					3b. Differences for Females				
	Type of Sponsorship		Academic Ranking		Constraint Over Civil Rights Participation	Type of Sponsorship		Academic Ranking		Constraint Over Civil Rights Participation
	Private	Public	High	Lower		Private	Public	High	Lower	
Prestige (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.0	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.2 2.0	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.3 2.3
	t significant at .001		t significant cant at .001		t significant cant at .001	t significant at .001		t significant cant at .001		t not significant
Ability Demands (7 point scale, 1 = high)	3.2	3.6	3.3	3.7	3.7 3.4	4.0	4.3	4.0	4.4	4.3 4.1
	t significant at .001		t significant cant at .001		t significant cant at .001	t significant at .01		t significant cant at .001		t significant cant at .05
Nontraditionality (Range of % Negro from .3% to 22% - means given represent average % Negro in the occupations chosen by students in the various institutions)	2.9	3.6	2.8	3.9	4.0 3.3	4.8	5.3	4.8	5.2	4.9 4.6
	t significant at .001		t significant cant at .001		t significant cant at .001	t significant at .05		t significant cant at .05		t not significant

from participating does not mean that large numbers of students actually do participate in the low constraint schools. The question of a possible association between civil rights participation and aspiration is examined below.

Other Institutional Characteristics of Interest in the Study

Characteristics other than the three used for selecting schools may also be important in differentiating institutional patterns of student aspiration. Some of these characteristics were discussed in Chapter II where we examined some of the ways in which the institutions differ regarding their students' background characteristics, their social experiences, their academic values and orientations. The average of these student characteristics can be treated as institutional measures. There are others which derive from average perceptions of the students about the college or the average frequency of certain kinds of extracurricular or other college experiences reported by students in each school. Still others represent curriculum indicators such as the relative emphasis on liberal arts and teacher training education in each college. It is possible, using these measures of institutional characteristics, to rank order the ten schools in a variety of ways. The patterning of these characteristics can then be examined through the intercorrelations of these ranks assigned to the schools. Finally, there is the question of how these institutional characteristics relate to the average level of student aspiration in the different schools.

Measures of Specific Characteristics

One additional way to characterize the schools has to do with the social backgrounds of students attending the various schools. The ten institutions do differ significantly in the proportion of their students who come from homes where the parents have college educations, professional jobs, and relatively comfortable incomes. The colleges can be ranked, using an average

of these background characteristics. This ordering of institutions provides variation on an institutional dimension we might call social status of the student body.

Another characteristic also concerns the backgrounds of the students. It may be thought of as the cosmopolitanism of the student body. Cosmopolitanism is measured by the average of two factors, the proportion of students in the college from cities 50,000 or larger and the proportion of out-of-state students attending the school.

Two other characteristics have to do with curriculum emphases in the schools. One is the emphasis on liberal arts given by the proportion of students enrolled in strictly liberal arts majors. The other is the emphasis on teacher training as represented by the proportion of students enrolled in departments of education.

Another characteristic on which there is considerable institutional variation and which may be particularly important in predominantly Negro institutions is the sex ratio of the school. On the whole, a larger proportion of girls than boys attend predominantly Negro colleges. Nevertheless, schools included in this study vary considerably on this dimension.

Amount of student participation in civil rights activities is also a characteristic that may be particularly important on the predominantly Negro campus. This characteristic has to do with how many students have actually engaged in civil rights activities rather than the amount of constraint on participation that may have been exercised by the college administrations. Of course, when there is high constraint, there is little participation. The reverse is not true, however. The amount of participation that is characteristic of the institution is measured by the proportion of students in each institution whose activities are judged by coders to represent either continuing commitment to civil rights or at least participation in several events involving some jail experience.

Finally, we are interested in four characteristics that have to do with academic atmosphere. One involves the ordering of institutions according to amount of faculty-student interaction reported by students. The schools with highest interaction are those with the largest proportions of students who report having had some contact with at least three teachers outside of the classroom. Another characteristic concerns the student academic culture, what might be called academic values of the student culture. It is based on three highly intercorrelated measures of student values regarding academic challenge and autonomy. Schools that are high on this dimension have the largest proportions of students who say they chose the college because of its "academic reputation" and because it is "a hard school that will really challenge me." They also have the largest percentage of students with what we have called "intrinsic" sources of academic motivation. Intrinsically oriented students are those who prefer classes where attendance is not required; where the professor leaves it up to the students to keep up with the work instead of checking to see that assignments are carried out properly and on time; where students are encouraged to do independent reading instead of the teacher giving definite, required assignments; and where the professor teaches a lot of interesting ideas even though they may not be covered on exams. On the whole, the students in the schools studied are more extrinsic than intrinsic with respect to these kinds of classroom preferences. Nevertheless, some schools are less extrinsic than others. The third characteristic of the campus culture concerns the atmosphere regarding amount of rejection of administrative authority. Schools that are high on this dimension are those with the largest proportions of students who disapprove of traditional locus-parentis regulations and who feel either they, or students jointly with administrators, should make decisions about student regulations rather than leaving such matters up to the college administration alone.

The fourth characteristic concerns what kind of student activities are available on the campus. The interest here is not so much on the number, but the diversity of extracurricular activities. Diversity was measured by coding how many different interest areas (music, art, drama, literary, political, social action, service, religious, social or fraternal clubs involving like-sexed memberships, heterosexual social activities, sports, campus loyalty or booster groups, departmental or academically-oriented groups, lecture or cultural event committees, etc) are represented by the activities available on the campus. Sources used for this were the schools' yearbooks and informant interviews with campus leaders in which they were asked to mention all the informal groupings they could think of that might not be listed in the yearbook. The final measure is weighted so as to give higher scores to schools which not only have more interest areas represented but which meet two other criteria as well: (1) the number of activities in areas other than "collegiate-social or sports" begin to approximate the available options in those areas, and (2) there exist within these less typically collegiate-social areas not only the formal groups listed in the campus yearbook but also some informal groups created because of student interest. This means, for instance, that two schools with equal emphasis placed on sports and social groups would have different scores if the number of music and literary groups is much greater at one than the other, or if one campus shows evidence of numerous informal jazz groups or signs of a newly-developing literary magazine or news sheet. This approach obviously results in a measure of more than simple diversity; it is more the amount of diversity and degree of self-initiated activity that characterizes the "noncollegiate" aspects of life on the campus. This meaning of the measure is reflected in the fact that using it to rank the schools is negatively related to ranking them according to the average importance the students feel sports (-.89) and parties and social life (-.65) have on the campus.

Range of Differences Among the Schools on These Characteristics

The schools studied vary widely on these dimensions. The school with the highest social status, for instance, has 58 percent of its students from high status families as defined above; the lowest school has only 19 percent. The most cosmopolitan student body has 59 percent of its students from what we have called cosmopolitan backgrounds; the lowest school has only four percent. In the school with the highest emphasis on liberal arts, 93 percent of the students are enrolled in a liberal arts program; the school with the lowest emphasis has only 29 percent. The school with the highest emphasis on teacher training has 33 percent of its students in schools of education; the school with the least emphasis has only four percent. The sex ratios vary from one school where girls comprise 68 percent of the student body to one where they are only 32 percent. The school with the highest interaction with faculty represents 39 percent of the students reporting nonclass contacts with at least three faculty members; the lowest interaction represents 17 percent. The schools vary in proportion of students with strong academic values, 68 percent at the highest school but 33 percent at the lowest.

Diversity of extracurricular activities ranges from a score of 55 at the school with the largest number of different activity options to 22 at the school with the fewest. Student participation in civil rights ranges from 48 percent of the students with fairly high involvement at the highest school to only 13 percent at the lowest.

Patterning of These Characteristics

Most of these characteristics are not independent of each other. The interrelationships of these institutional characteristics can be seen by the intercorrelations of these ten different rank orders of the schools (See Table 4.)

The most highly interrelated characteristics are the social status and cosmopolitanism of the student body, amount of faculty interaction with students,

TABLE IX-4

Rank Order Intercorrelations of Several Institutional Characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1) Social Status of the Student Body	1.00									
(2) Cosmopolitanism of the Student Body	+51 ^b	1.00								
(3) Emphasis on Liberal Arts	+33 ^a	+20	1.00							
(4) Emphasis on Teacher Training	-.42 ^b	-.20	-.60 ^c	1.00						
(5) Proportion of Females in the School	+14	+40 ^b	+30	-.14	1.00					
(6) Amount of Faculty-Student Interaction	+84 ^c	+60 ^c	+35 ^a	-.42 ^b	+11	1.00				
(7) Academic Values of Student Culture	+82 ^c	+73 ^c	+39 ^a	-.42 ^b	+14	+73 ^c	1.00			
(8) Student Rejection of Administrative Authority	+42 ^b	+11	+35 ^a	-.29 ^a	-.07	+55 ^c	+30	1.00		
(9) Student Participation in Civil Rights Activities	+33 ^a	+15	+51 ^b	-.27 ^a	-.07	+24	+33 ^a	+29	1.00	
(10) Diversity of Extra-curricular Activities	+78 ^c	+62 ^c	+25	-.35 ^a	+10	+84 ^c	+85 ^c	+35 ^a	+29	1.00

^aSignificant at .05.^bSignificant at .025.^cSignificant at .01 or higher.

academic values of the student body, and diversity of extracurricular activities. The schools with large numbers of students from high status backgrounds are also likely to have a more cosmopolitan student body in the sense of large numbers of out-of-state and urban students, greater faculty-student interaction, stronger academic values in the student culture, and a broader range of activities of a "noncollegiate" sort than is true of schools with fewer students from high status backgrounds. They also tend to be schools where the students are likely to be critical of the administration, at least more so than schools which are much weaker in these four characteristics.

Of all these characteristics, however, the one that is most closely associated with student rejection of administrative authority is amount of student-faculty contact that is reported by the students. In schools where large numbers of students say they have gotten to know at least three teachers outside of their strictly classroom roles, the students are more likely to criticize traditional locus parentis student regulations, administrative decisions about what speakers can be invited to lecture on campus, and strong administrative supervision of student organizations and student participation in civil rights activities. When they talk about who ought to make decisions about these matters, they conceive of the process as one which should involve either "the students alone" or "the students and administration working together" instead of "the college administration alone." This association between student attitudes toward administrative authority and their contact with the faculty persists even after partialling out the effects of the social status of student body which is positively related to both of these characteristics. Regardless of the background characteristics of the student body, the more that the faculty and students interact with each other the more likely it is that the students will be critical of administrative authority. These data are supported by participant observations of student groups and talking

informally with students on the different campuses. Where students have many contacts with faculty, there seems to be heightened concern with broad issues about academic freedom and the desirability of involving both the faculty and student groups in decision-making processes of the college. The student councils are more active and less likely to be paper organizations. It is also our feeling from these observations on the campuses that this connection between faculty contact and student attitudes toward the administration reflects the faculty's concern with these issues which is communicated to the students in the schools where the faculty has close and frequent contacts with the student body.

It is not amount of faculty-student interaction, however, that is most highly related to student participation in civil rights. Instead, it is the curriculum emphasis of the school. The highest civil rights involvement is found in schools that are also likely to be dominantly liberal arts in their curriculum emphases.

Implications of These Additional Institutional Characteristics
for Student Aspirations

The question of greatest interest to us is how these characteristics relate to institutional patterns of student aspirations. To explore this question we have also ordered the ten institutions according to the mean level of aspiration expressed by their students on each of the dimensions of aspiration. The rank-order correlations between the ordering of the institutions with respect to each of these dimensions and each of the above characteristics can then be examined. We are interested in examining whether the correlations are higher with certain institutional characteristics than they are with others and whether a particular characteristic relates more highly to one dimension of aspiration than to another. In other words, are there certain of these institutional characteristics which have little, if any, significance for student aspirations? And, is there any evidence that a given

characteristic, faculty-student interaction, for instance, might be more significant for ability aspirations than for the prestige of the students' choices?

Given the interrelationships of some of the institutional characteristics, it is not surprising that a number of them relate to institutional patterns of aspiration in much the same way. (See Table 5.) Generally, it can be said that schools with large numbers of students from cosmopolitan and high status backgrounds, high faculty-student interaction, a student culture with strong academic values, and high diverse student activities are also more likely, relative to other schools, to have high institutional levels of aspiration. This is generally true for both the males' and females' aspirations, although they are positively associated with nontraditional aspirations only among the males.

The correlations between the other institutional characteristics and institutional levels of aspiration are lower. The curriculum emphases of the schools (the relative emphasis on liberal arts and teacher training at least) and the students' attitudes toward administrative authority are significantly, though somewhat more weakly, associated to the average aspiration levels in the schools. But the sex ratio of the schools and the level of civil rights participation in the schools bear practically no relationship to institutional levels of aspiration.

On the whole, it can be said that most of these characteristics have greater import for prestige and ability aspirations of the students than for how nontraditional their choices are. The only institutional characteristics significantly related to the nontraditionality of the girls' choices are the proportion of students enrolled in liberal arts and teacher training programs and how active the students in the school have been in civil rights. In fact, this is the one connection that civil rights participation has with level of the students' aspirations. Girls in schools with a strong liberal arts

TABLE IX-5

Rank Order Correlations Between Various Institutional Characteristics and
Institutional Level of Students' Occupational Aspirations

Characteristics of the Institutions	Institutional Level of Student Aspirations					
	Prestige		Ability Demands		Nontraditionality	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Social status of the student body	+ .76	+ .76	+ .72	+ .70	+ .66	+ .05
Cosmopolitanism of the student body	+ .54	+ .69	+ .50	+ .43	+ .37	-.28
Emphasis on liberal arts	+ .49	+ .42	+ .36	+ .37	+ .24	+ .47
Emphasis on teacher training	-.31	-.20	-.36	-.25	-.24	-.39
Proportion of females in the school	+ .10	+ .17	+ .07	+ .03	-.04	-.07
Amount of faculty-student interaction	+ .72	+ .68	+ .59	+ .62	+ .51	-.05
Academic values of student culture	+ .73	+ .71	+ .77	+ .71	+ .69	-.01
Student rejection of administrative authority	+ .36	+ .31	+ .34	+ .37	+ .20	+ .19
Student participation in civil rights activities	+ .13	+ .08	-.01	+ .06	-.07	+ .39
Diversity of extracurricular activities	+ .68	+ .69	+ .74	+ .70	+ .65	+ .01

All correlations of .25 are significant at least at .05 level of probability.

emphasis and higher participation in civil rights have more nontraditional aspirations than do girls in other kinds of schools.

Summary

What we have learned thus far is that students attending private schools, schools with high academic status, schools in which the administration has not exercised strong constraint over the students' or faculty's participation in civil rights activities, schools which can be characterized as having a student population from high status and cosmopolitan backgrounds and who also have strong academic values, and schools in which the students have considerable contact with the faculty and which offer diverse activities beyond sports and typically collegiate-social affairs, are more likely than students attending schools with fewer of these institutional characteristics to aspire for occupations that are prestigious, demanding of ability, and nontraditional for Negroes. The association between these institutional characteristics and student aspirations holds for both the males and females, except that how nontraditional the girls' aspirations are seems to be relatively independent of the types of schools they attend.

Apart from these institutional characteristics which bear rather consistent relationships to student aspirations, there are also some which relate only to certain types of aspirations or only to the aspirations of one sex group. The student atmosphere in the school regarding student-administrative relationships seems to be associated with all types of aspiration (admittedly less than the characteristics discussed above) except how nontraditional the students' aspirations are. Schools in which the students are highly critical of the administration and tend to reject the notion of the administration making decisions about student regulations without some involvement of the students are also those in which both the males' and females' prestige and ability aspirations tend to be relatively high. In contrast, the schools

where the students are accepting of administrative authority, particularly as the only appropriate body for decision-making in the college, have lower institutional levels of student aspiration. The school's emphasis on liberal arts and teacher training education operates in much the same way. Schools with a strong liberal arts emphasis and a relatively weak teacher training program have students with higher prestige and ability aspirations than do the other schools.

Two institutional characteristics stand out as being associated with the girls' but not the males' aspirations. Girls attending schools in which there has been high participation in civil rights activities and which have a stronger emphasis on liberal arts education than on teacher training, aspire for more nontraditional jobs than do the girls in other kinds of schools. The average civil rights involvement of the school is not related to any dimensions of aspiration among the males and the school's curriculum emphasis is not associated with how nontraditional their choices are.

Contrary to expectations, the sex ratio of the school is not associated with any kind of aspiration for either sex group. We had speculated that girls attending schools with fewer males than females might be exceptionally cautious about aspiring for difficult and demanding occupations because of the heightened threat that high aspirations might imply in an environment where the girls' certainty of marriage might already be lower by virtue of the scarcity of men. This appears not to be the case.

Selectivity and Effect

We have seen that the ten institutions differ in their levels of student aspirations and that it is possible to characterize what kinds of institutions have heightened and lower aspirations. But these differences can reflect the fact that certain kinds of schools recruit students with higher aspirations before they ever come to college; they can occur because the schools socialize

students in different ways; or they can represent the joint influence of both recruitment and socialization. Certain schools may produce students with higher aspirations even when recruitment effects are taken into account. What seems to be the case regarding the differences between these ten schools in their students' aspirations?

Selectivity-Recruitment Factors

The fact of institutional differences can be explained, at least to some extent, by selectivity factors. At the point of entering college, the freshmen in the ten schools already differ in the level of their occupational aspirations. Among the male freshmen, selectivity operates for all types of aspiration; for females, it operates only with respect to how prestigious and demanding of ability their choices are. (See Table 6.) There is considerable consistency in these recruitment effects; certain schools recruit students whose aspirations are consistently higher in all of the qualities of occupations that have been examined in this study.

It follows that many of the relationships between the various institutional characteristics and the institutional levels of aspirations described in the previous section are also likely to be at least partly the function of selectivity. And this is generally true. Almost regardless of how the schools are ordered, on dimensions such as academic status, social status of the student body, etc, we find that selectivity is operating. The picture just described - that schools with high academic status, high faculty-student interaction, strong academic values in the student culture, highly diverse extracurricular activities, and schools with high status and cosmopolitan student bodies also have high levels of student aspiration - is at least partly due to selectivity. (See Table 7.)

Recruitment differences also exist between public and private schools, particularly in the freshmen girls' aspirations, but to some extent in the

TABLE IX-6

Institutional Differences in the Occupational
Aspirations of Entering Freshmen Males and Females

Mean Level of:	Freshmen Males in Institutions									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.12	2.12	1.91	2.08	1.98	2.13	1.99	2.02	2.03	1.92
	F significant at .001									
<u>Ability Demands</u> (7 point scale, 1 = high)	3.60	3.53	2.92	3.38	3.41	3.59	3.19	3.06	3.43	2.97
	F significant at .001									
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (Range of percent Negro from .3% to 22% - means given represent average percent Negro in the occupations chosen by students in the various institutions)	4.37	3.57	2.44	3.08	3.00	3.14	2.64	2.17	2.76	2.27
	F significant at .001									
Mean Level of:	Freshmen Females in Institutions									
	A	B	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.29	2.23	2.33	2.14	2.37	2.18	2.10	2.26	2.17	
	F significant at .01									
<u>Ability Demands</u> (7 point scale, 1 = high)	4.23	4.02	4.28	3.88	4.35	3.97	3.87	4.01	3.82	
	F significant at .01									
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (Range of percent Negro from .3% to 22% - means given represent average percent Negro in the occupations chosen by students in the various institutions)	5.45	5.29	5.21	4.95	5.31	4.92	5.53	5.17	5.31	
	F <u>not</u> significant									

males' aspirations as well. Furthermore, just as curriculum emphases of the school, student atmosphere regarding student-administrative relationships, proportion of females in the school, and amount of student participation in civil rights have much smaller relationships than some of these other institutional characteristics to the average aspiration level in the school, recruitment differences between schools varying in these ways are also minimal. (See Table 7.) It should be noted, in this connection, that the relationships which do exist between the curriculum emphasis of the school and the entering freshmen students' aspirations are not linear ones. The aspirations of freshmen who are entering schools with very high and very low liberal arts emphasis are higher than those of freshmen going to schools with a moderate emphasis placed on the liberal arts program. This is because one school with a very small proportion of students enrolled in liberal arts, in fact, the smallest proportion of any school in the group, is a deviant case of what it means to have very little emphasis on liberal arts. Generally, it means relatively high importance placed on teacher training; at this school, however, it means a very wide diversity of specializations in addition to both liberal arts and teacher training. So it is deviant in the kinds of curricula it does have and it is deviant in the sense of being a highly selective school for one with so few students enrolled in liberal arts.

Institutional Effects

Analysis Technique

The fact that these selectivity factors are operating complicates the problem of examining whether the institutions differentially "affect" their students. The longitudinal aspect of the study design, which involved testing the freshmen at the time of entering college and again at the end of the freshman year, was included for the purpose of examining institutional

TABLE IX-7

Initial Differences Between the Occupational Aspirations
of Freshmen Entering Different Types of Colleges

Types of Colleges	Average Level of the Entering Freshmen Students' Occupational Aspirations					
	Males			Females		
	<u>Prestige</u>	<u>Ability Demands</u>	<u>Nontra- ditionality</u>	<u>Prestige</u>	<u>Ability Demands</u>	<u>Nontra- ditionality</u>
<u>Academic Status of the School</u>						
Schools with high status	1.97	3.12	2.54	2.17	3.88	5.17
Schools with lower status	2.12	3.57	3.48	2.34	4.25	5.33
	p = .01	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	NS
<u>Sponsorship of the School</u>						
Private schools	1.99	3.18	2.86	2.18	3.90	5.22
Public schools	2.08	3.46	2.99	2.32	4.19	5.23
	p = .05	p = .01	NS	p = .001	p = .001	NS
<u>Social Status of the Student Body</u>						
Schools with 37-58% from high status backgrounds	1.93	3.02	2.53	2.15	3.79	5.12
Schools with 28-32% from high status backgrounds	2.00	3.19	2.55	2.19	3.94	5.19
Schools with 19-25% from high status backgrounds	2.12	3.57	3.48	2.34	4.25	5.33
	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	NS

Cosmopolitanism of the Student Body

Schools with 59% of the students from cosmopolitan backgrounds
 Schools with 45-58%
 Schools with 20-44%
 Schools with less than 20%

1.91	2.93	2.38	2.17	3.75	5.31
1.99	3.08	2.39	2.15	3.92	5.21
2.05	3.46	3.10	2.22	3.98	5.19
2.10	3.52	3.40	2.36	4.30	5.27
p = .01	p = .001	p = .001	p = .01	p = .001	NS

Amount of Faculty-Student Interaction

Schools with 39% of students reporting contact with three or more faculty members
 Schools with 29-33%
 Schools with 17-24%

1.92	3.06	2.63	2.12	3.83	4.95
1.99	3.14	2.50	2.18	3.89	5.22
2.12	3.57	3.48	2.34	4.25	5.33
p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	NS

Academic Values in the Student Culture

Schools with 65% or more of the students having strong academic values
 Schools with 49-53%
 Schools with 43-46%
 Schools with 33-39%

1.95	3.01	2.43	2.15	3.85	5.27
2.01	3.28	2.71	2.21	3.91	5.05
2.10	3.48	3.08	2.34	4.29	5.21
2.12	3.62	3.72	2.34	4.24	5.37
p = .01	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	NS

TABLE IX-7 (Cont)

Average Level of the Entering Freshmen Students' Occupational Aspirations		Males			Females		
		Prestige	Ability Demands	Nontra- ditionality	Prestige	Ability Demands	Nontra- ditionality
<u>Diversity of Extracurricular Activities</u>							
Schools with average diversity scores of 50 or more	1.93	2.99	2.40		2.13	3.80	5.20
Schools with scores of 40-49	2.00	3.12	2.69		2.20	3.87	5.13
Schools with scores of 29-39	2.08	3.43	3.09		2.32	4.20	5.22
Schools with scores of 22-28	2.12	3.55	3.65		2.36	4.29	5.30
	p = .01	p = .001	p = .001		p = .001	p = .001	NS
<u>Participation in Civil Rights Activities</u>							
Schools with 48% of students with fairly high involvement	2.02	3.06	2.17		2.10	3.87	5.53
Schools with 40-45%	2.01	3.27	2.78		2.29	3.79	5.16
Schools with 33-38%	1.96	3.10	2.61		2.15	4.00	5.19
Schools with 20-27%	2.07	3.47	3.63		2.22	4.11	5.16
Schools with 13%	2.12	3.56	3.13		2.38	4.31	5.31
	NS	p = .05	p = .01		p = .01	p = .01	NS

Rejection of Administrative Authority

Schools with average rejection scores of 32 or higher	1.93	3.06	2.63	2.12	3.83	4.95
Schools with average scores of 26-30	2.04	3.26	2.76	2.25	3.97	5.17
Schools with average scores of 23-24	2.02	3.34	2.70	2.21	4.03	5.20
Schools with average scores of 19-21	2.08	3.46	3.40	2.28	4.06	5.36
	p = .05	p = .05	NS	p = .05	NS	NS

Liberal Arts Emphasis of the School

Schools with 86% or more students enrolled in liberal arts	1.93	3.02	2.53	2.15	3.79	5.12
Schools with 57-69%	2.05	3.42	3.28	2.23	3.98	5.16
Schools with 49-51%	2.11	3.52	3.10	2.36	4.30	5.26
Schools with 29%	1.99	3.00	2.17	2.10	3.86	5.53
	p = .01	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	p = .001	NS

*Proportion of Females in the School

High: Schools with 62-68% females	1.96	3.06	2.47	2.16	3.80	5.09
Low: Schools with 32-45% females	2.03	3.26	2.71	2.24	4.14	5.38
	NS	NS	NS	p = .05	p = .01	NS

On all dimensions of aspiration, a low score means high aspiration. See Table 6 for specification of the range for each dimension.

*Not all of the schools are used in this breakdown. There are two schools in the high group and two in the low group.

effects.¹ But it is obvious that we cannot look at differences among the freshmen at the end of the freshman year as an indicator of institutional effect, since we know that they already differed even before they came to these ten colleges. What we need is some way to take account of these initial differences in order to talk about effects of the institutions over and beyond their recruitment differences.

One approach with intuitive appeal is to measure how much the students' occupational aspirations changed over the course of the freshman year, using the average amount of change in each school as an indicator of its institutional effect. For instance, if the average ability aspirations of freshmen entering Institution A were 3.5 at the beginning of the year and 2.6 at the end of the year, it might seem obvious that there was greater change than in Institution B where the average scores were 2.6 at the beginning and 2.3 at the end of the freshman year. There are a number of considerations, however, which make the conclusions based on these simple comparisons subject to doubt. Among some of the more prominent are ceiling and regression effects. No statistical technique can adequately handle all of the issues involved in analyzing change, but the use of analysis of covariance does handle the regression effect problem.² What it does is to test for differences between

¹The students who were randomly assigned to the coding sample from each institution were asked to return for testing at the end of the second semester. The students were released from classes for this purpose; participation was, thus, very good at all but one school where an early end to the second semester provided conflict with final examinations. That one school has been deleted in the covariance analysis of before-after measures.

²An excellent discussion of these issues is presented in a collection of papers coming out of a symposium on the problems in measuring change (Harris, 1963). The comparative value and different conclusions that might be drawn from using analysis of covariance and analysis of raw change scores is discussed in this volume by Lord. See particularly pages 36-38.

the schools after adjusting for the initial differences that their students presented at the time of entering college. It helps us answer a hypothetical question: assuming it were possible to equate the schools for the kinds of students they recruit, would they have different outcomes regarding their students' aspirations? If we find that the freshmen in the ten schools do differ at the end of the year after statistically equating their initial aspiration scores, there is evidence that both selectivity and socialization are operating - that the schools have an "effect" over and beyond the fact that they recruit different kinds of students in the first place.

Overall Picture of the Differential Outcomes of the
Participating Colleges on Their Students' Occupational Aspirations

We have just seen that the participating colleges recruit different kinds of students. Do they also have differential outcomes with respect to their students' occupational aspirations after adjusting for these recruitment differences? Table 8 indicates that they do with the male freshmen but that the effects on the girls are much more limited.

What appears to be the situation regarding what happens to ^{the} girls' aspirations in these schools? When the raw aspiration scores at the beginning and end of the freshman year are compared, it appears that regression effects could explain most of the differences in raw scores at the end of the freshman year. The schools which initially had high scores are somewhat lower; the schools which initially had low scores are somewhat higher. Thus, after controlling for these initial differences, as is done in analysis of covariance, there is no evidence that the schools have "affected" the girls' aspirations. The only exception concerns the girls' ability aspirations. Although regression effects are operating here, too, there are three schools, particularly, where something more than statistical regression appears to be operating. They are the three lowest schools at the beginning of the freshman year. The

TABLE IX-8

Institutional Differences in the Freshmen Students'
Occupational Aspirations at the End of the Freshman Year
After Adjusting for Initial Selectivity Differences

	Males in Institutions								
<u>Mean Level of:</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.18	2.04	2.12	2.03	2.17	2.07	2.02	2.18	1.97
	F significant at <u>.001</u>								
<u>Ability Demands</u> (7 point scale, 1 = high)	3.72	3.18	3.33	2.97	3.67	3.28	3.22	3.46	3.06
	F significant at <u>.001</u>								
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (Range of percent Negro from .3% to 22% - means given represent average percent Negro in the occupations chosen by students in the various institutions)	4.62	2.65	3.17	2.58	3.82	2.92	4.15	3.75	2.19
	F significant at <u>.001</u>								
	Females in Institutions								
<u>Mean Level of:</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	
<u>Prestige</u> (5 point scale, 1 = high)	2.27	2.25	2.22	2.26	2.21	2.23	2.26	2.18	
	F <u>not</u> significant								
<u>Ability Demands</u> (7 point scale, 1 = high)	4.28	3.73	3.78	4.27	3.86	3.92	3.92	3.70	
	F significant at <u>.001</u>								
<u>Nontraditionality</u> (Range of percent Negro from .3% to 22% - means given represent average percent Negro in the occupations chosen by students in the various institutions)	5.64	5.54	5.64	5.27	4.91	5.47	5.35	5.78	
	F <u>not</u> significant								

This table involves only nine schools because the sample of freshmen at one school at the end of the freshman year was too incomplete to use.

girls in all of these schools should have higher ability aspirations at the end of the year simply as a function of regression effects. But, in looking at the raw scores at the end of the year, we find that the girls' ability aspirations in two of them are actually lower, not higher, than at the beginning of the year. This implies a negative effect on the girls in Schools A and F. The raw ability scores of the third school (School D) are higher at the end of the year, but they are considerably higher than would be expected simply as the result of statistical regression. Thus, when the initial differences between the schools are taken into account, this school with initially very low scores has the highest "adjusted" scores of all. This implies a positive effect on the girls in this school, at least relative to the other schools included in the study.

With the male freshmen, we find that the schools still differ regarding all types of occupational aspirations even after adjusting for the initial recruitment differences. Regression effects can probably explain what is happening in a few of the schools, particularly G and H, but others appear to have enhancement effects, while still others appear to have depressant effects on aspirations of the males. For instance, one of the schools (School J) where the entering freshmen come with quite high aspirations, has even higher, rather than lower, scores at the end of the year, as would be expected simply as a function of statistical regression. This is also true of School C with respect to its male students' nontraditionality aspirations. Thus, this is evidence of positive effects on the males in these two schools, at least relative to other schools included in the study. Another school with evidence of enhancement effects is School E. It is one of the schools in which the males come to college with relatively low ability aspirations. In contrast to other such schools, however, it ends up with much higher scores than would be expected only as a function of regression. When initial

differences are taken into account, this school shows the highest ability aspirations of all by the end of the freshman year. This also happens, to a somewhat lesser extent, regarding its male students' nontraditionality aspirations as well.

Four other schools (A, F, D and I) not only recruit students with lower aspirations, but they also have low aspirations, relative to other schools, even after the initial differences are taken into account. At all of these schools, the males' aspirations should be at least somewhat higher at the end of the freshman year for no other reason than statistical regression. At two of them, however, the scores on all dimensions of aspiration are even lower than they were at the beginning of the year. And, at the two others, this happens with respect to some but not all dimensions of aspiration. Thus, there is evidence of some lowering of aspiration in these four schools relative to others included in the study.

Differential Outcomes of Different Types of Institutions

The fact that these schools have different outcomes, particularly with respect to their male students, and that it is possible to indicate which institutions appear to have enhancement effects and which seem to have depressant effects on aspirations, has been useful in reporting to the participating colleges. After all, each institution is interested in knowing about its own students and its own effects as a specific entity. These results, however, are very particularistic; it is of greater importance to go beyond this to show what kinds of institutions have what kinds of effects on their students.

We have already seen that the various characteristics or dimensions on which the schools can be ordered (such as amount of faculty-student interaction, diversity of extracurricular activities, etc) bear systematic relationships to the average aspirations of students attending these schools. We

also know that these relationships are, at least to some extent, the function of recruitment. Certain kinds of schools recruit students with higher aspirations in the first place. Now we are interested in whether the schools that vary according to these different institutional characteristics have different outcomes after controlling for these recruitment-selectivity effects.

The only relationships between institutional characteristics and aspiration outcomes for the girls occur with respect to their ability aspirations. The characteristics which can be used to order the schools and which result in different outcomes on the girls' ability aspirations are: the academic status of the school, amount of faculty-student interaction, academic values of the student body, and diversity of extracurricular activities. (See Table 9.) Even after controlling for selectivity, the girls attending schools with high academic status, high faculty-student interaction, strong academic values, and diverse activities, end up with higher aspirations for demanding and difficult jobs than do girls in other kinds of schools. The enhancement effects of these characteristics can be seen by looking at the initial, post, and adjusted scores in Table 9. The girls attending schools that are high in these characteristics should show somewhat lower aspirations at the end of the year by virtue of having high initial scores. Instead, they have even higher ability aspirations. This means that attending schools with these kinds of characteristics encourages unconventional choices among the girls. At least occupations with high ability demands are unconventional with respect to the way girls in this population conceive of the desirable or appropriate occupational roles for women.

Even these characteristics, however, are unimportant for affecting the girls' aspirations for prestigious and nontraditional jobs. Girls attending these kinds of schools are likely to have higher prestige aspirations than girls in other kinds of schools, but that is apparently only the function of

TABLE IX-9

Differential Outcomes of Different Types of Colleges
Regarding Their Freshmen Females' Occupational Aspirations

Types of Colleges	Mean Prestige Aspirations			Mean Ability Aspirations			Mean Nontraditionality Aspirations		
	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences
<u>Academic Status of the School</u>									
Schools with high status	2.17	2.18	2.21	3.88	3.75	3.80	5.17	5.36	5.40
Schools with lower status	2.34	2.32	2.30	4.25	4.18	4.08	5.33	5.53	5.47
	p = .001 p = .001 p = .05			p = .001 p = .001 p = .001			NS	NS	NS
<u>Sponsorship of the School</u>									
Private schools	2.18	2.19	2.22	3.90	3.84	3.88	5.22	5.37	5.37
Public schools	2.32	2.29	2.24	4.19	4.01	3.94	5.23	5.46	5.46
	p = .001 p = .001 NS			p = .001 p = .05 NS			NS	NS	NS
<u>Social Status of the Student Body</u>									
Schools with 37-58% from high status backgrounds	2.15	2.15	2.20	3.79	3.67	3.76	5.12	5.64	5.71
Schools with 28-32%	2.19	2.20	2.22	3.94	3.81	3.84	5.19	5.21	5.23
Schools with 19-25%	2.34	2.31	2.26	4.25	4.18	4.08	5.33	5.53	5.47
	p = .001 p = .001 NS			p = .001 p = .001 NS			NS	NS	NS

Cosmopolitanism of the Student Body

Schools with 59% of the students from cosmopolitan backgrounds
Schools with 45-58%
Schools with 20-44%
Schools with less than 20%

2.17	2.15	2.18	3.75	3.66	3.77	5.31	5.84	5.78
2.15	2.18	2.22	3.92	3.81	3.85	5.21	5.16	5.17
2.22	2.24	2.24	3.98	3.92	3.93	5.19	5.51	5.53
2.36	2.32	2.25	4.30	4.12	4.00	5.27	5.41	5.38
p = .01 p = .01			p = .001 p = .01			NS NS		

Amount of Faculty-Student Interaction

Schools with 39% of students reporting contact with three or more faculty members
Schools with 29-33%
Schools with 17-24%

2.12	2.16	2.22	3.83	3.68	3.76	4.95	5.46	5.64
2.18	2.19	2.21	3.89	3.76	3.81	5.22	5.34	5.34
2.34	2.32	2.26	4.25	4.18	4.08	5.33	5.53	5.47
p = .001 p = .001			p = .001 p = .001 p = .01			NS NS NS		

Academic Values in the Student Culture

Schools with 65% or more of the students having strong academic values
Schools with 49-53%
Schools with 43-46%
Schools with 33-39%

2.15	2.16	2.21	3.85	3.73	3.80	5.27	5.65	5.62
2.21	2.21	2.22	3.91	3.78	3.82	5.05	5.01	5.13
2.34	2.30	2.24	4.29	3.82	3.70	5.21	5.53	5.54
2.34	2.32	2.26	4.24	4.32	4.23	5.37	5.53	5.44
p = .001 p = .001			p = .001 p = .001 p = .001			NS NS NS		

TABLE IX-9 (Cont)

	Mean Prestige Aspirations			Mean Ability Aspirations			Mean Nontraditionality Aspirations		
	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Post Scores, Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Post Scores, Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Post Scores, Adjusted for Initial Differences
<u>Diversity of Extra-curricular Activities</u>									
Schools with average diversity scores of 50 or more	2.13	2.14	2.20	3.80	3.78	3.79	5.20	5.50	5.49
Schools with scores of 40-49	2.20	2.20	2.20	3.87	3.79	3.83	5.13	5.04	5.10
Schools with scores of 29-39	2.32	2.30	2.24	4.20	4.01	3.90	5.22	5.40	5.42
Schools with scores of 22-28	2.36	2.34	2.28	4.29	4.32	4.30	5.30	5.50	5.40
	p = .001 p = .001			p = .001 p = .001 p = .001			NS NS NS		
<u>Participation in Civil Rights Activities</u>									
Schools with 48% of students with fairly high involvement	2.10	2.19	2.23	3.87	3.88	3.92	5.53	5.67	5.47
Schools with 40-45%	2.29	2.27	2.24	3.79	3.67	3.76	5.16	5.20	5.25
Schools with 33-38%	2.15	2.15	2.20	4.00	3.88	3.89	5.19	5.40	5.43
Schools with 20-27%	2.22	2.23	2.24	4.11	3.82	3.77	5.16	5.20	5.25
Schools with 13%	2.38	2.33	2.25	4.31	4.35	4.22	5.31	5.32	5.27
	p = .01 p = .001			p = .01 p = .001 p = .01			NS NS NS		

Rejection of Administrative Authority

Schools with average rejection scores of 32 or higher

2.12 2.16 2.22 3.83 3.68 3.76 4.95 5.46 5.64

Schools with average scores of 26-30

2.25 2.24 2.23 3.97 3.81 3.83 5.17 5.31 5.35

Schools with average scores of 23-24

2.21 2.21 2.23 4.03 3.81 3.80 5.20 5.26 5.28

Schools with average scores of 19-21

2.28 2.26 2.23 4.06 4.09 4.07 5.36 5.62 5.54

p = .05 NS p = .01 p = .01 NS NS

Liberal Arts Emphasis of the School

Schools with 86% or more students enrolled in liberal arts

2.15 2.15 2.20 3.79 3.67 3.76 5.12 5.64 5.71

Schools with 57-69%

2.23 2.24 2.34 3.98 3.54 3.94 5.16 5.23 5.28

Schools with 49-51%

2.36 2.32 2.24 4.30 4.12 4.00 5.26 5.41 5.38

Schools with 29%

2.10 2.19 2.23 3.87 3.88 3.89 5.53 5.67 5.47

p = .001 p = .001 p = .01 NS

Proportion of Females in the School

High: Schools with 62-68% females

2.16 2.16 2.18 3.80 3.70 3.76 5.09 5.20 5.30

Low: Schools with 32-45% females

2.24 2.24 2.22 4.14 3.85 3.78 5.38 5.61 5.50

p = .05 p = .05 NS p = .01 NS NS

recruitment. (See Table 9.) Furthermore, none of the other characteristics of interest in the study have effect implications for any dimensions of the girls' aspirations. Girls recruited to private schools, schools with high status and cosmopolitan student populations, and schools with a strong emphasis on the liberal arts, are likely to have high prestige and ability aspirations; again, however, this appears to result only from recruitment and selectivity. There are no differences between the aspirations of girls in schools varying in these ways after adjusting for the initial selectivity effects. (See Table 9.)

The situation with the males is more complicated. More of the institutional characteristics have effect implications for the males. It is also true, however, that they are differentially important, depending on what type of aspiration is involved.

The effect implications of the academic status of the school, whether the school is publicly or privately sponsored, and the background characteristics of the student body are much the same. After controlling for selectivity, the males attending private schools, schools with high academic status, and schools with cosmopolitan and high status student populations end up with higher aspirations for prestigious, demanding, and nontraditional jobs than do males in other kinds of schools. (See Table 10.) In examining the initial, post and adjusted scores, it is also clear that what is happening with the males' aspirations in schools varying in these ways is fairly similar. In the schools that are high in these characteristics, the males' aspirations are somewhat lower at the end than at the beginning of the freshman year. Some of this would be expected simply because of regression effects. On the other hand, the males attending public schools, those with low academic status, and schools with fewer students from high status and cosmopolitan backgrounds have lower, rather than higher, aspirations as would be expected because of

their initially low scores. Thus, while it is difficult to say that these characteristics have the effect of heightening aspirations, it is fairly clear that there are negative effects on the males' aspirations in schools with few of these characteristics.

The effect implications of the four characteristics of the student culture - amount of faculty-student interaction, academic values of the student body, diversity of extracurricular activities, and rejection of administrative authority - are a little different from those just described. As is true of variation on the dimensions just described, the schools varying in these ways do have differential outcomes on all dimensions of the males' aspirations; and it is clear from examining the initial, post and adjusted aspiration scores that attending schools which are very low in these characteristics has negative effects on all kinds of aspirations just as is true of attending public schools with low academic status and few students from high status or cosmopolitan backgrounds. But, unlike these other characteristics, there appear to be some enhancement effects, particularly for choosing a difficult and nontraditional job, of attending schools with the highest faculty-student interaction, the most diverse extracurricular options, and whose students are the most rejecting of administrative authority. There is also a clear positive effect, at least for ability aspirations, of attending schools with very strong academic values in the student culture. Instead of having somewhat lower aspirations at the end of the year, the males in these kinds of schools have even higher aspirations for high ability and nontraditional jobs.

The level of the students' participation in civil rights activities also has significant effects for all kinds of aspirations among the males. The relationship, however, tends to be curvilinear in nature. After adjusting for initial differences, the schools with an intermediate amount of participation

TABLE IX-10

Differential Outcomes of Different Types of Colleges
Regarding Their Freshmen Males' Occupational Aspirations

Types of Colleges	Mean Prestige Aspirations			Mean Ability Aspirations			Mean Nontraditionality Aspirations		
	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences
<u>Academic Status of the School</u>									
School's with high status	1.97	2.03	2.05	3.12	3.14	3.14	2.54	2.94	3.15
Schools with lower status	2.12	2.18	2.14	3.57	3.67	3.67	3.48	4.11	3.80
	p = .01 p = .01 p = .01			p = .001 p = .001 p = .001			p = .001 p = .001 p = .01		
<u>Sponsorship of the School</u>									
Private schools	1.99	2.04	2.05	3.18	3.23	3.29	2.86	3.27	3.30
Public schools	2.08	2.16	2.14	3.46	3.52	3.45	2.99	3.60	3.56
	p = .05 p = .001 p = .01			p = .01 p = .001 p = .05			NS NS NS		
<u>Social Status of the Student Body</u>									
Schools with 37-58% from high status backgrounds	1.93	1.97	2.01	3.02	3.01	3.15	2.53	2.60	2.58
Schools with 28-32%	2.00	2.08	2.09	3.19	3.25	3.30	2.55	3.45	3.66
Schools with 19-25%	2.12	2.18	2.14	3.57	3.67	3.54	3.48	4.10	3.80
	p = .001 p = .001 p = .001			p = .001 p = .001 p = .001			p = .001 p = .001 p = .001		

Cosmopolitanism of the Student Body

Schools with 59% of the students from cosmopolitan backgrounds
Schools with 45-58%
Schools with 20-44%
Schools with less than 20%

1.91	1.97	2.02	2.93	3.00	3.17	2.38	2.20	2.50
1.99	2.00	2.02	3.08	3.07	3.17	2.39	3.30	3.59
2.05	2.16	2.15	3.46	3.58	3.50	3.10	4.09	3.82
2.10	2.16	2.12	3.52	3.55	3.44	3.40	3.57	3.46
p = .01 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001								

Amount of Faculty-Student Interaction

Schools with 39% of students reporting contact with three or more faculty members
Schools with 29-33%
Schools with 17-24%

1.92	1.98	2.03	3.06	3.05	3.16	2.63	2.47	2.63
1.99	2.05	2.07	3.14	3.18	3.26	2.50	3.17	3.40
2.12	2.18	2.14	3.57	3.67	3.54	3.48	4.11	3.80
p = .001 p = .001 p = .01 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001								

Academic Values in the Student Culture

Schools with 65% or more of the students having strong academic values
Schools with 49-53%
Schools with 43-46%
Schools with 33-39%

1.95	1.97	2.01	3.01	3.01	3.15	2.43	2.70	2.97
2.01	2.12	2.12	3.28	3.35	3.36	2.71	3.32	3.43
2.10	2.15	2.11	3.48	3.40	3.32	3.08	3.26	3.17
2.12	2.20	2.16	3.62	3.84	3.69	3.72	4.62	4.19
p = .01 p = .01 p = .01 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .001 p = .01								

TABLE IX-10 (Cont)

	Mean Prestige Aspirations			Mean Ability Aspirations			Mean Nontraditionality Aspirations		
	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences	Initial Scores	Post Scores	Adjusted for Initial Differences
<u>Diversity of Extra-curricular Activities</u>									
Schools with average diversity scores of 50 or more	1.93	1.95	1.99	2.99	3.00	3.12	2.40	2.30	2.65
Schools with scores of 40-49	2.00	2.08	2.07	3.12	3.20	3.18	2.69	3.25	3.30
Schools with scores of 29-39	2.08	2.13	2.11	3.43	3.38	3.30	3.09	3.30	3.19
Schools with scores of 22-28	2.12	2.18	2.16	3.55	3.75	3.64	3.65	4.50	4.20
	p = .01 p = .01 p = .01			p = .001 p = .001 p = .001			p = .001 p = .001 p = .01		
<u>Participation in Civil Rights Activities</u>									
Schools with 48% of students with fairly high involvement	2.02	1.99	2.02	3.06	3.03	3.22	2.17	3.75	4.15
Schools with 40-45%	2.01	2.11	2.11	3.27	3.32	3.33	2.78	3.13	3.20
Schools with 33-38%	1.96	1.94	1.98	3.10	2.99	3.10	2.61	2.21	2.38
Schools with 20-27%	2.07	2.15	2.13	3.47	3.62	3.53	3.63	4.28	3.87
Schools with 13%	2.12	2.17	2.13	3.56	3.72	3.59	3.13	3.93	3.80
	NS p = .001 p = .01			p = .05 p = .001 p = .001			p = .01 p = .001 p = .001		

Rejection of Administrative Authority

Schools with average rejection scores of 32 or higher

1.93 1.98 2.03 3.06 3.05 3.17 2.63 2.47 2.63

Schools with average scores of 26-30

2.04 2.07 2.06 3.26 3.22 3.24 2.76 3.66 3.75

Schools with average scores of 23-24

2.02 2.17 2.18 3.34 3.48 3.46 2.70 3.28 3.41

Schools with average scores of 19-21

2.08 2.14 2.12 3.46 3.63 3.55 3.40 4.00 3.73
 $p = .05$ $p = .001$ $p = .01$ $p = .05$ $p = .001$ $p = .001$ NS $p = .001$ $p = .001$

Liberal Arts Emphasis of the School

Schools with 86% or more students enrolled in liberal arts

1.93 1.97 2.01 3.02 3.01 3.15 2.53 2.30 2.52

Schools with 57-69%

2.05 2.16 2.15 3.42 3.56 3.50 3.28 4.03 3.82

Schools with 49-51%

2.11 2.16 2.12 3.52 3.55 3.44 3.10 3.57 3.46

Schools with 29%

1.99 1.99 2.01 3.00 3.01 3.16 2.17 3.75 4.17
 $p = .01$ $p = .01$ $p = .01$ $p = .001$ $p = .001$ $p = .001$ $p = .001$ $p = .001$ $p = .001$

Proportion of Females in the School

High: Schools with 62-68% females

1.96 1.98 2.02 3.06 3.04 3.12 2.47 2.35 2.43

Low: Schools with 32-45% females

2.03 2.07 2.05 3.26 3.27 3.22 2.71 3.46 3.40
 NS NS NS NS NS NS NS $p = .01$ $p = .01$

end up with their male freshmen choosing the most prestigious, difficult, and particularly nontraditional aspirations.

The impact of liberal arts curriculum on the males' aspirations is much the same at the end as it was at the beginning of the freshman year. At least this is true for everything except its effect on how nontraditional the freshmen males' aspirations are. The males attending schools with both very high and very low liberal arts emphasis have higher ability and prestige aspirations even after controlling for selectivity differences. On the other hand, there is a linear rather than curvilinear relationship between liberal arts emphasis and nontraditional aspirations at the end of the year, once the initial differences are taken into account.

Summary

Overall Differences and Effects of the Participating Schools

The results show that there are overall differences among the ten schools in the average aspirations of their students. These overall institutional differences in the students' prestige, ability, and nontraditionality aspirations hold for both the males and females. Indeed, practically the same schools emerge as high and low aspirant schools for both the males and females.

The fact of institutional differences can be explained, at least to some extent, by selectivity factors. At the point of entering college, the freshmen in the ten schools already differ in the level of their occupational aspirations. Among the male freshmen, selectivity operates for all types of aspiration; for females, it operates only with respect to how prestigious and demanding of ability their choices are. There is considerable consistency in these recruitment effects; certain schools recruit students whose aspirations are consistently higher in all of the qualities of occupations that have been examined in this study.

There is also evidence, however, that the ten schools have differential effects on their students after adjusting for these recruitment differences. This is particularly true with the male students. With the females, the effect of attending different schools is seen primarily in how difficult and demanding their occupational choices are.

Institutional Patterning of Aspiration

Of greater importance than simply knowing that these ten schools differ regarding the kinds of students they recruit and how they affect their students' aspirations is having a picture of the institutional characteristics that are associated with heightened levels of student aspiration. Are there certain kinds of institutions that seem to have higher institutional levels of aspiration?

Apart from the fact that the schools were selected to vary in type of sponsorship, academic status, and level of constraint exercised over participation in civil rights activities, they also vary in other ways: social status of the student body, cosmopolitanism of the students' backgrounds, curriculum emphasis of the school, sex ratio in the student body, amount of participation in civil rights activities, amount of faculty-student interaction reported by the students, academic values of the student culture, student atmosphere regarding administrative authority, and diversity of extracurricular activities.

The relationships among these institutional characteristics, and between them and the average aspiration levels of the school, show that certain types are more likely than others to be high aspirant schools. Schools that can be characterized as having high academic status, a student population from high status and cosmopolitan backgrounds who also have strong academic values, and a campus atmosphere which provides considerable contact between faculty and students and diversity of extracurricular student groups, are more likely

than schools with fewer of these institutional characteristics to show high institutional levels of aspiration as well. The other institutional characteristics are of less importance.

This picture is at least partly due to selectivity. Schools that vary in these ways recruit freshmen whose aspirations already differ by the time they come to college. Recruitment differences also exist between public and private schools, particularly in the girls' aspirations, but to some extent in the males' aspirations as well.

We also learn, however, that certain kinds of institutions have effects over and beyond the fact that they recruit different kinds of students. If we were to pick out the institutional characteristics which have the greatest effect implications for both the males and females, they would include amount of faculty-student interaction, diversity of extracurricular activities, and academic values that are characteristic of the student culture. Although other characteristics have effect implications for either one sex or the other, these are important for both. It is also that there are clear-cut enhancement effects in schools that have the greatest faculty-student contact, the most diverse activity options, and the strongest academic values; conversely, there are clear-cut depressant effects in schools that have the least faculty-student contact, the least heterogeneous extracurricular offerings, and the least importance attached to academic-intellectual matters in the student culture. Furthermore, these effects appear to be most important with respect to aspirations which are relatively unconventional for both sexes. For the girls, they appear to encourage aspirations for high ability jobs which are simultaneously likely to be viewed by other girls as undesirable choices for women. For the males, they appear to encourage not only high ability jobs, but also those which are unconventional in the sense of being highly nontraditional for Negroes.

We have already seen that these particular characteristics are ones that tend to go together. Schools that are high in one are also likely to be high in the others. It is difficult, therefore, to isolate whether each has a causal relationship beyond the general atmosphere in a school that is characterized by high faculty-student interaction, diverse activity options, and strong emphasis placed on academic values. It was possible to do something about this, however, with respect to the importance of faculty contact. In addition to examining what happens to the males' and females' aspirations in schools that vary in the proportion of students reporting contact with several faculty members, it was also possible to look at the direct relationship between the amount of contact each student reported and his aspirations at the end of the freshman year. And, we find that there is a direct causal relationship. The students who report the most contact with teachers have significantly higher aspirations than do other students after controlling for initial aspiration differences between the students who subsequently established many versus few faculty relationships. With the males, these effects of faculty contact operate on both ability and nontraditionality aspirations; with the females, they operate on ability aspirations. Thus, there is something beyond the atmosphere that is provided by schools with high interaction between students and teachers. Involvement with teachers outside of the classroom has a positive effect on just the kind of aspirations that are least conventional, as well as least likely to be encouraged by high status parents, while most likely to be important if these students are to maximally utilize increasing job opportunities in nontraditional sectors of the labor market.

If schools want to foster these kinds of less conventional aspirations, the data would seem to indicate that positive consequences should follow from

anything that is done to foster faculty-student interaction, to increase the diversity of activities the students can participate in, and to support and reward academic-intellectual values in the student culture.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

This study has as its major objective the investigation of factors which influence the choices and aspirations of young people attending several predominantly Negro colleges in the Deep South. It is concerned with the ways the students' social and family backgrounds, their motivational characteristics, their involvement in civil rights activities, and their educational experiences may encourage or constrain the alternatives they consider in making choices about their futures. It focuses particularly on the facilitating and constraining influences that operate on the choices these students are making regarding their future occupational roles.

Types of Occupational Choices the Students Are Making

One of the issues of interest in the study is whether the kinds of occupational decisions these students are making still reflect older restrictions on choice. On the basis of previous studies and reports of counselors in predominantly Negro colleges, one would expect to find considerable restriction in the students' choices. By the time the study data were collected, however, recruiters had begun their visits to these previously forgotten schools. Had the students' considerations and choices broadened? What kinds of occupations were they choosing at that time?

The results provide little evidence that the students are choosing a broader range of occupations than the choices described in previous studies. When their choices are categorized according to the major census classifications, almost all of them fall into some kind of profession; furthermore, as noted in other studies, the predominant professional choice is still either elementary or secondary teaching, even though many of the students in the

study are not enrolled in teacher-training programs. When the choices are classified according to the interest areas they represent, which provides a more detailed breakdown than the major census classifications, there is, nevertheless, a narrow range of choices within each interest area. Traditionally, two of these interest areas, applied science and business, have been fields with severely limited opportunities for Negro youth. According to placement offices of colleges included in the study, it is also from these two areas that the major flood of recruiters have come to Negro campuses in recent years. Yet, with the exception of increasing numbers choosing engineering, these recruitment efforts seem not to have affected the kinds of choices students were making in these two areas up to the fall of 1964. If medicine is included in the applied science area, over half of the males' scientific choices involve either the traditionally prestigious choice of doctor or some kind of educational setting. And constriction is even greater in the girls' choices in applied science. Not only are there fewer females than males making choices in this area, but over half of the applied science jobs mentioned by girls involve some kind of noncollege teaching position. The students' choices in the business area also indicate considerable constriction of interests. A very small proportion of either the males or females are yet aspiring to careers in such areas as marketing, advertising, business management, public relations, or personnel work. The largest single business choice among males is accounting, a choice that is normally considered professional rather than managerial in nature. The diversity in the girls' choices in the business area is also limited; almost all of their choices are classified as either secretarial jobs or teaching commercial subjects in high school.

Student Evaluations of Occupations

Because we expected little change in the kinds of occupations students would be choosing for themselves by the fall of 1964, we thought we might learn something about the problem of choice by asking students to evaluate a list of occupations that would include a large number which have been infrequently chosen by Negro youth in the past. In this way, we could find out what occupations are attractive to these students, even if rarely chosen by large numbers of them.

An additional random sample of students was asked to judge four characteristics of a long list of occupations: the occupation's personal desirability or attractiveness, measured by how satisfied the student would be with that occupation as an adult; its prestige, measured according to the student's opinion of its general standing; its ability demands, measured according to what proportion of the students in their class the respondents felt had the ability required to attain each occupation; and its social difficulty for a Negro, measured by the discrepancy between the chances they felt a white person and an equally qualified Negro would have for each occupation, presuming they were applying for the same job.

The results indicate that the males and females have much the same norms about occupations. They share very much the same judgments about what is prestigious, highly demanding of ability, and socially difficult for a Negro. The only characteristic on which they differ has to do with the personal desirability of an occupation. Twenty percent of the occupations are judged differently by males and females with respect to their desirability or attractiveness.

The fact that the males and females agree about these qualities of occupations does not mean, however, that there are no sex differences in their

views about occupations. For example, there are some sex differences in the interrelationships among their judgments, particularly in the relationship between the judged desirability of an occupation and its other qualities. The occupations that are highly desirable to the males are also quite likely to be demanding of high ability and socially difficult for a Negro to attain. This is much less true for the females. The girls are more often satisfied with occupations that are not especially difficult in either sense.

Apart from the interest in whether males and females differ in their evaluations of occupations, we were also interested in whether social obstacles would be evaluated differently for the north and south. With the exception of some occupations that are considered to be fairly accessible to Negroes in both locales, the results indicate that the students in this population believe that opportunities are generally greater in the north. Not even one occupation is judged to be easier for a Negro to attain in the south, despite the fact that a large number of teaching jobs were included in the list of occupations. Within this standard set toward the north as the land of opportunity, it is true that the students judge the social difficulty of occupations relative to each other in very much the same way regardless of locale. This means, for instance, that "office manager of a large concern" is judged to be more difficult than is the job of "accountant" in both the north and the south even though each of these occupations is considered less accessible to a Negro in the south than in the north.

The fact that the students believe that the north consistently presents fewer occupational difficulties for a Negro, and the fact that they seem to have an undifferentiated view about the relative opportunities in the two locales, raises questions about the way in which the students who do go north after college will cope with the realities of the northern job world. This is not a new concern for the staff in the predominantly Negro colleges who

have, over the years, seen large numbers of students, born and educated in the south, go north after college with idealized conceptions of its promise. What is a concern is the fact that this view persists despite some of the changes in the south in recent years. An increasing number of opportunities will exist for these students in both the north and south; a more differentiated view about what they are and where to find them would seem to be crucial if the promise of expanding opportunities has much payoff for this generation of graduates.

Sex Differences in Occupational Aspirations

The pattern of sex differences in occupational aspirations suggests certain constraints on choice that seem to derive more from sex-role considerations than anything tied to the racial situation. In fact, if we were to argue from the literature about dominance of the Negro woman, we would expect just the opposite of what we find. Instead of having higher aspirations than the males, these Negro girls have lower aspirations. They are choosing jobs that are less prestigious, demanding of less ability, and more traditional for Negroes. Instead of defining desirable jobs in terms of high ability demands as do the males, they consider the easier jobs as the most desirable or attractive to them.

This picture is similar to what the studies of white college students indicate about male and female aspirations. Except for the fact that the Negro girls intend to work just as long as the Negro males, and in this sense show stronger work orientations than do white college girls, the Negro girls in this study seem to reflect the orientation to the work world that is held by women generally. They are choosing occupations that are over-represented by women on a national basis. Like other females, they show greater restriction in what occupations they ever considered, decided what they wanted to do earlier, and are currently more sure of their choices than is true of

the males in this study. They attach less importance to career as a significant area of life after college; they also have less concern with advancement in the occupations they have chosen. In short, almost everything we have learned about the sex differences in occupational aspiration points to sex-role considerations producing constraints on the Negro girls' choices just as they do on the choices made by white girls in college.

Social Class and Family Influences

Social class affects the students' occupational aspirations, directly as well as indirectly, through class-tied parental influence patterns. Its direct and indirect effects are seen, however, only with the freshmen students at the point of entering college, a time when family background is especially salient to students.¹ By the time students are seniors, most of the social class differences and effects of parental influence on students' occupational aspirations have disappeared. Apparently, one of the important effects of college is the diminution of class conditioners of aspiration. The only social class effect that does hold for seniors is the negative impact that strong parental influence in the student's choice process has on how nontraditional the males' choices are.

At the point of maximal influence of class background, when the students are just entering college, we find a very consistent picture regarding the way in which the direct and indirect effects of social class operate. High status parents, those with higher incomes and higher education, as well as those who have had the greatest influence on their children, are likely to have sons who choose occupations that are prestigious and highly demanding of ability but ones that are traditional instead of nontraditional for Negroes.

¹ Another exception to how pervasive class influences are is seen in the analysis of social class determinants of occupational realism. There we find that social class factors are important only among students with relatively low ability test scores. (See the summary on page 285.)

The major effect of high status families on the girls is to encourage the choice of highly desirable occupations. Since occupations judged to be desirable by girls are what we might think of as "role-appropriate" choices, we have some evidence that comfortable families produce girls with conventional female role aspirations. If we add to this the fact that growing up in an intact family actually discourages prestige and ability aspirations among the girls, and the fact that high parental influence similarly serves to lower aspirations for prestigious and difficult jobs, we see that the combined effects of these class and family influence variables is the encouragement of conventional female aspirations.

Thus, for both sexes, the experience of growing up in a high status home seems to encourage certain kinds of aspirations but to discourage others. With males, the high status effect facilitates occupational choices that are prestigious and highly demanding of ability but discourages the choice of highly nontraditional occupations; with females, it facilitates the choice of role-appropriate choices but constrains the choice of highly demanding and difficult occupations that are unconventional for females.

Motivational Factors Underlying the Students' Aspirations

The motivational framework that has guided the analysis of these students' aspirations focuses on several motivational characteristics: the students' motives or what might be called their dispositions to approach or avoid achievement-relevant situations, the values they place on achievement, the incentives they attach to particular goals, and their expectancies or assessments of their chances for success. The specific constructs that have been examined are the motive to avoid failure, the achievement value orientation, the desire for security, the value placed on accomplishments that are likely to bring recognition from others, willingness to pioneer as a Negro in occupational and educational settings, and several types of generalized

expectancies - the students' sense of personal control, their academic self-confidence, and their ideologies about the causes of success and failure for both other people in general and Negroes in specific.

The ways these constructs relate to the various dimensions of the students' occupational aspirations bear on a number of unresolved issues in the motivational literature.

Generalizability of Results From Previous Studies

The results for the males in this study indicate that what we have learned in previous studies with white college males does apply to students in Negro colleges as well. Up to this point there has been practically no research which has examined the relationship between motivation and aspiration in a Negro sample. As has been found in studies with white males, we also find for the males in this study that a high achievement orientation and a high sense of personal control are positively related to aspirations for prestigious jobs; conversely, high fear of failure and a strong need for security are negatively related to such aspirations.

Differential Relationships Between Motivational Characteristics and Different Types of Occupational Aspirations

A second issue that is unresolved from previous research is whether the traditional motivational constructs would relate to any types of aspiration other than the aspiration for a prestigious job. Most of the studies have been restricted to examining prestige aspirations. The results in this study, however, indicate that these constructs are useful in explaining aspirations that are high in ability demands and nontraditionality as well as prestige; they also show that the importance of different motivational characteristics depends on which type of aspiration is at issue. These results can be highlighted by showing what we learn by introducing the notions of ability requirements and nontraditionality of the choice that we could not learn simply by knowing the choice is highly prestigious.

We can start with what we learn about the motivational characteristics of males who are making highly prestigious choices. They have higher achievement orientations, lower anxiety about failure, less need for security, higher sense of personal control, and greater willingness to pioneer than do the males whose choices are lower in prestige. If we also know that their choices are highly demanding of ability, they are likely to be young men who have even higher achievement orientations and even less need for security. They are also likely to be willing to go far from home to get an excellent job. Similarly, we learn more or something different about the males' motivational characteristics if, in addition to knowing that their occupational choices are highly prestigious, we also know that their choices are highly nontraditional. The males whose choices are highly nontraditional as well as prestigious are likely to have a high desire for recognition - what we have called a success orientation. Indeed, it is only with high prestige choices that are nontraditional instead of traditional for Negroes that a high success orientation appears. They are also likely to be especially attuned to problems of discrimination; they more often attribute a Negro's failure to get ahead to discrimination than to the Negro's lack of skill or ability. And they are likely to be willing to be geographically mobile to obtain an excellent job.

Motivation and Role Considerations in the Aspirations of Females

Another issue has to do with whether the motivational characteristics that are related to the aspirations of the male students would also be helpful in explaining the females' aspirations. This question arises partly because psychologists generally know less about the motivational determinants of girls' occupational choices and behaviors. We also speculated that a different set of motivational constructs might be needed to explain the occupational aspirations of each sex because sex-role considerations seem to

play such an important part in determining girls' aspirations. As previously noted, for a girl to be a high aspirant demands a willingness to counter the notion of what is an appropriate choice for a female.

The results indicate, however, that many components of motivation operate in similar ways for the males and females. This is particularly true with respect to the motivational characteristics that relate to aspirations for jobs demanding high ability. As is true with males, the females whose choices represent difficult and demanding occupations have higher achievement orientations, less fear of failure and need for security, greater academic self-confidence and greater willingness to pioneer as a Negro than do those aspiring for easy and undemanding jobs.

The fact that the motivational determinants of high ability choices are so similar for the two sexes is especially interesting since it was in the choice of high ability jobs that sex-role constraints seemed to operate so heavily for the girls. Nevertheless, we do not seem to need a different set of motivational concepts to account for this choice among males and among females. It is simply a more infrequent choice for females than for males. But when girls do aspire for a difficult and demanding job, they seem to do so from much the same motivational background as is true of the males.

The Importance of the Students' Generalized Expectancies of Success

The results from this study highlight the importance of the students' expectancies about success and failure that have developed out of their own histories with success. It is not that their values and motives are unimportant, but how they feel about their chances for success and how they judge their capacities to control what happens in their lives are highly significant, although complicated, motivational factors.

The results using the various measures of the students' generalized expectancies of success are different from those previously reported with

white samples. Although the distinction has not been made in studies with white students, it seems to be crucial in this population to distinguish between two types of generalized expectancies: (1) one that concerns the relative importance of external fate versus personal strengths in accounting for one's own chances for success, what we have called a sense of personal control, and (2) a general ideology about the causes of success and failure for other people in general. It is not simply that the factor analysis of the traditional internal-external control items resulted in two such factors, one involving attribution of control to the self and one to people in general; it is also that these two factors operate so differently. The measure of personal control appears to be the more important determinant of aspiration. Among the females, it relates to both prestige and ability aspirations; among the males, it relates to all the dimensions of aspiration that were examined in this study, and it relates in the expected fashion. The students with the highest sense of personal control, who believe that their internal strengths are more important than the exigencies of fate in accounting for whether they get ahead in life, have the highest aspirations. Their occupational choices are significantly more prestigious, more demanding of ability, and among the males, also more nontraditional for Negroes than are those of students who feel they have less capacity to control their own lives.

The two ideology measures, one regarding people in general and one having specifically to do with other Negroes, do not bear such consistent relationships to these dimensions of aspiration. And where these general beliefs come into play, they operate in just the opposite direction from the results generally reported in the studies of internal-external control and from the way in which the sense of personal control seems to affect aspirations. Although it is clearly better for these Negro students to believe that they can control their own lives, it is sometimes better for continued hope and

striving to hold an external rather than internal ideology regarding the causes of success and failure for other people.

This appears to be the case, for instance, for students who are lacking strong personal control themselves. It is damaging for the expression of aspiration for students with a low sense of personal control to believe that others can control what happens in their lives or to believe that Negroes ought to be able to exercise internal control despite the obstacles presented by discrimination. Although students with a low sense of personal control already have lower occupational aspirations than those with higher personal control, their prestige aspirations are even lower if they have incorporated a strong ideology that hard work, ability, and proper training are the most important determinants of whether people get ahead in life. To believe in the Protestant ethic, even to the point of more often attributing failure among Negroes to the lack of these virtues than to the external constraints of discrimination, may well result in self-blame and negative self-concepts as Negroes for students who lack the personal strengths to apply the ethic in their own lives. These additional factors of self-blame and negative feelings as Negroes may function, then, to further depress the aspirations of students with a low sense of personal control.

Another situation where it seems to be better to hold an external than an internal ideology about the causes of success and failure among Negroes has to do with the impact of this ideology on how nontraditional the students' aspirations are. The students who attribute more importance to discrimination than to personal inadequacies of Negroes in explaining why Negroes may not succeed in their goals hold the most nontraditional job aspirations. Thus, rather than having debilitating effects, the holding of an external ideology seems to have positive consequences for nontraditional aspirations so long as the external factors have to do with discrimination rather than the exigencies

of fate. Most of the literature on the consequences of internal versus external control assumes that the external forces are whimsical and that belief in their importance leaves one feeling powerless. Discrimination, however, is systematic, not whimsical; it is a reality these students must assess. Attention to it may not imply a sense of powerlessness but rather an enhanced capacity to cope that comes from being more reality oriented about both the obstacles and opportunities for a Negro in this society.

Realism of Occupational Aspirations

Many different conceptions of realism might be brought to bear on the question of how realistic these students' occupational choices are. The type of realism we have considered has to do with the match between the chosen occupation's ability demands and the student's level of performance in college. The actual realism score corresponds to a goal discrepancy score which is traditionally employed in experimental studies of level of aspiration. It is the discrepancy between the ability required for the student's occupational choice (the percent judged by peers to have the ability for it) and the percentile of the class that is represented by his cumulative grade point average. Positive discrepancies are considered overaspirant, negative discrepancies underaspirant, and where there is little or no discrepancy, the student's choice is considered realistic.

The analyses presented in this report involve only the male students. The results of the analyses of the female data are difficult to interpret, not so much because they are consistently contrary to the predictions of the risk-taking model which has guided these analyses but because some are supportive, some contradictory, such that a very inconsistent picture emerges. This is not surprising in light of the experience of other studies in trying to account for girls' risk-taking behavior.

Although the major interest in these analyses is on realism of occupational choices, there is considerable convergence, among the males, between the meaning of occupational realism and goal setting in the educational domain. The males who are most realistic about their occupational choices are also more realistic about their grade expectations. They expect to achieve grades that are fairly close to their previous performance levels. They also attach greater incentive to the goal of graduating from college. And, along with the overaspirants, they have higher expectancies of going to graduate school than do the underaspirants of comparable ability. This means that what we have learned about the factors associated with making realistic occupational choices may have relevance for educational goal setting as well.

The factors that are important in underaspirant, overaspirant, and realistic goal setting depend very much on the students' levels of abilities. The realism analyses were done separately for students with high and with low ability scores; what relates to occupational realism is quite different in the two ability groups.

One set of factors that has differential importance in the high and low ability groups has to do with achievement-relevant values. It is in the low ability group, for instance, that the underaspirants stand out in having high security values and in placing low value on accomplishments that would be viewed by others as indicators of success. Furthermore, the connection between overaspiration and holding high achievement values is more marked in the low than in the high ability group. It appears that where ability is high, the role of values is not very important in goal setting behavior. Perhaps this is simply because high ability itself is enough to prompt both higher and more realistic aspirations. A high ability student has undoubtedly had many success experiences that confirm for him that it is his capacities that count. It is likely also that such a student has been told many times that

a "person with your ability should strive to do something that takes advantage of your potential." He does not need to be told to value achievement or success. It is probably taken for granted that he does. Instead, it is because of his ability that he is urged to strive for certain roles in life. But how many students with relatively low ability have been encouraged to try for goals that match their abilities? Some teachers and parents may attempt to dissuade youngsters, whom they suspect of having little potential, from shooting too high. Generally, however, the issue of ability is probably underplayed with such students. Instead, they are likely to be told that "if you value getting ahead, nothing can stop you," or "the important thing in life is trying to be a success and doing your best." The aspirations of low ability students who have accepted these value admonishments are probably enhanced, perhaps to an unrealistic height, given their abilities. It should not be surprising, therefore, that individual differences in such values are found to differentiate the low ability students who are choosing occupations that are at least commensurate with their ability from those who are under-aspiring.

It is also in the low ability group that social and family background are particularly important in goal setting behavior. It is the low ability students from lower status homes in which the parents have had relatively little influence whose aspirations are most severely depressed. The ability demands of their occupational choices are even lower than their performances suggest they could handle. In contrast, the aspirations of the high ability students from lower status homes do not seem to be adversely affected. The lack of high aspirant models in the backgrounds of high ability students is probably not so important since they are likely to have been encouraged by teachers and other nonfamily models to develop aspirations that fit their high abilities. But this kind of compensatory support is undoubtedly given

less frequently to low ability students. Lacking other supports, their aspirations appear to suffer when they come from low status homes, since their parents either cannot provide models for them or cannot influence them toward higher aspirant roles that might be closer to the potential they do have.

Instead of values and social background factors, it is the students' judgments of the world and their sense of mastery in the world that seem to be important in the high ability group. For instance, it is in the high ability group that individual differences in the students' generalized expectancies of success have some meaning for realistic behavior. It is there that the students' sense of their own personal control differentiates how realistic their occupational choices are. All of the students in this group have enough ability to strive for high aspirant roles. And, when they also strongly believe in themselves and their capacities to control or master the environment, they apparently want occupational roles in which they can be successful - those that are fairly well matched to their abilities and talents. In contrast, where the objective probability of success is lower by virtue of lower ability, the issue of how the students judge their own personal control is unimportant in determining how realistic their choices are.

Similarly, it is in the high ability group that the students' ideologies about the role of discrimination in the lives of Negro Americans are found to relate to the realism of their aspirations. This makes a great deal of sense since the impact of discrimination should be clearer to a high ability student. He may experience less discrimination in the current job market than was the case even a few years ago, but when he meets discrimination, it is probably clearer to him than to students with lower ability that it is discrimination. When both personal qualifications and race are at issue, the role of discrimination is more difficult to determine. It is also possible that relatively high ability is required to make judgments about the way the

social system operates to structure the opportunities of Negroes. Whether it is because high ability students have had more frequent, or at least less ambiguous, confrontations with discrimination or that they have higher sophistication about the social world, the issue of discrimination would seem to have greater relevance in a high than a low ability group. Is it surprising, then, that it is in a high ability group that individual differences in emphasis placed on discrimination are found to relate to the students' own goal setting behavior? And this is what we find. The realistic aspirants are more likely than either the under or overaspirants with comparably high ability to attribute the failure of other Negroes to problems of discrimination. They seem to be more reality bound not only about their own goals but about the social world as well.

Institutional Differences and Effects

Overall Differences and Effects of the Participating Schools

The results show that there are overall differences among the ten schools in the average aspirations of their students. These overall institutional differences in the students' prestige, ability, and nontraditionality aspirations hold for both the males and females. Indeed, practically the same schools emerge as high and low aspirant schools for both the males and females.

The fact of institutional differences can be explained, at least to some extent, by selectivity factors. At the point of entering college, the freshmen in the ten schools already differ in the level of their occupational aspirations. Among the male freshmen, selectivity operates for all types of aspiration; for females, it operates only with respect to how prestigious and demanding of ability their choices are. There is considerable consistency in these recruitment effects; certain schools recruit students whose aspirations are consistently higher in all of the qualities of occupations that have been examined in this study.

There is also evidence, however, that the ten schools have differential effects on their students after adjusting for these recruitment differences. This is particularly true with the male students. With the females, the effect of attending different schools is seen primarily in how difficult and demanding their occupational choices are.

Institutional Patterning of Aspiration

Of greater importance than simply knowing that these ten schools differ regarding the kinds of students they recruit and how they affect their students' aspirations is having a picture of the institutional characteristics that are associated with heightened levels of student aspiration. Are there certain kinds of institutions that seem to have higher institutional levels of aspiration?

Apart from the fact that the schools were selected to vary in type of sponsorship, academic status, and level of constraint exercised over participation in civil rights activities, they also vary in other ways: social status of the student body, cosmopolitanism of the students' backgrounds, curriculum emphasis of the school, sex ratio in the student body, amount of participation in civil rights activities, amount of faculty-student interaction reported by the students, academic values of the student culture, student atmosphere regarding administrative authority, and diversity of extracurricular activities.

The relationships among these institutional characteristics, and between them and the average aspiration levels of the schools show that certain types are more likely than others to be high aspirant schools. Schools that can be characterized as having high academic status, a student population from high status and cosmopolitan backgrounds who also have strong academic values, and a campus atmosphere which provides considerable contact between faculty and students and diversity of extracurricular student groups, are more likely

than schools with fewer of these institutional characteristics to show high institutional levels of aspiration as well. The other institutional characteristics are of less importance.

This picture is at least partly due to selectivity. Schools that vary in these ways recruit freshmen whose aspirations already differ by the time they come to college. Recruitment differences also exist between public and private schools, particularly in the girls' aspirations, but to some extent in the males' aspirations as well.

We also learn, however, that certain kinds of institutions have effects over and beyond the fact that they recruit different kinds of students. If we were to pick out the institutional characteristics which have the greatest effect implications for both the males and females, they would include amount of faculty-student interaction, diversity of extracurricular activities, and academic values that are characteristic of the student culture. Although other characteristics have effect implications for either one sex or the other, these are important for both. It is also that there are clear-cut enhancement effects in schools that have the greatest faculty-student contact, the most diverse activity options, and the strongest academic values; conversely, there are clear-cut depressant effects in schools that have the least faculty-student contact, the least heterogeneous extracurricular offerings, and the least importance attached to academic-intellectual matters in the student culture. Furthermore, these effects appear to be most important with respect to aspirations which are relatively unconventional for both sexes. For the girls, they appear to encourage aspirations for high ability jobs which are simultaneously likely to be viewed by other girls as undesirable choices for women. For the males, they appear to encourage not only high ability jobs, but also those which are unconventional in the sense of being highly nontraditional for Negroes.

We have already seen that these particular characteristics are ones that tend to go together. Schools that are high in one are also likely to be high in the others. It is difficult, therefore, to isolate whether each has a causal relationship beyond the general atmosphere in a school that is characterized by high faculty-student interaction, diverse activity options, and strong emphasis placed on academic values. It was possible to do something about this, however, with respect to the importance of faculty contact. In addition to examining what happens to the males' and females' aspirations in schools that vary in the proportion of students reporting contact with several faculty members, it was also possible to look at the direct relationship between the amount of contact each student reported and his aspirations at the end of the freshman year. And, we find that there is a direct causal relationship. The students who report the most contact with teachers have significantly higher aspirations than do other students after controlling for initial aspiration differences between the students who subsequently established many versus few faculty relationships. With the males, these effects of faculty contact operate on both ability and nontraditionality aspirations; with the females, they operate on ability aspirations. Thus, there is something beyond the atmosphere that is provided by schools with high interaction between students and teachers. Involvement with teachers outside of the classroom has a positive effect on just the kind of aspirations that are least conventional as well as least likely to be encouraged by high status parents, while most likely to be important if these students are to maximally utilize increasing job opportunities in nontraditional sectors of the labor market.

If schools want to foster these kinds of less conventional aspirations, the data would seem to indicate that positive consequences should follow from anything that is done to foster faculty-student interaction to increase the

diversity of activities the students can participate in, and to support and reward academic-intellectual values in the student culture.

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CHAPTER XI

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The Meaning of Motivation: Its Implications for Education

This report has been concerned with motivational issues of Negro youth - the nature of their aspirations and the ways in which both their social background experiences and their motivational characteristics seem to condition their aspirations for the future. In talking about this study, we have frequently heard two types of responses which illustrate conceptions of motivation that differ from what we mean by the term. Some persons, upon hearing that this is a study of motivation, respond knowingly: "Of course, it's a matter of motivation. The reason so few students get A's is because they aren't motivated; they just don't care whether they do well or not." Or, a similar response may reflect the frustration of an educator who has tried to develop new programs and courses and found: "The students don't respond - they just don't seem to be motivated." Others, particularly people who have been actively engaged in social action, are apt to respond differently. Instead of thinking that a motivational approach corroborates their assumptions about the nature of the problem, they are apt to view a concern with motivation as typical psychological reductionism. "The trouble with psychologists is that they always assume that the problem is in the people. They never see the social aspects of the problem. It's not a matter of motivation. It's a problem of opportunities and social restrictions. We ought to work on that, not motivation."

Different as these responses sound, they reflect a similar point of view about the meaning of motivation: (1) that motivation concerns the person instead of the situation, and, (2) it has to do with the person's lack of

desire, initiative, or willingness to strive for the goals he would like. This tendency to separate the person from the situation, which is heard so often in the layman's treatment of motivation, has its counterparts in social science literature as well. All too often we think of the sociologist's domain as the study of the social, situational obstacles that deter individuals from full use of their talents. In contrast, the psychologist's role is frequently viewed as restricted to intra-psychic factors that result in poor performance and ineffective behavior in general. This is a false distinction. Increasingly, psychologists are concerned with personal characteristics that mirror the situational opportunities and obstacles in the reality world. This is particularly true of the "situational" theorists of motivation, all of whom place great importance on the person's expectancy or subjective probability that some behavior of his will lead to a desired goal - in short, that he can succeed if he decides to try. It is true that motives, which are considered relatively stable dispositions developed in early socialization experiences to approach or avoid a certain class of objects, play a role in some of these schemes that are considered situational theories. But even where they do, as in the Atkinson model, they are only one factor that explains why aspiration, performance, effort, or persistence may be high or low.

This means that we are increasingly seeing the treatment of motivation as something that involves the person's relationship to the social world, something that depicts how individuals may be expected to act in different situations both as a function of their relatively stable characteristics and their judgments of their possibilities of succeeding in the particular situation. We can no longer talk about motivation as a personal factor divorced from the situation. It is this conception of motivation that has

guided the study of motivational issues in these predominantly Negro colleges. We have been concerned not only with the students' attitudes and motives but also with their expectancies of success and their perceptions of the opportunities and obstacles of the social world.

Programs that would deal with the motivational problems of these students in an effective manner would do well to recognize the inherent connection between the personal and situational, the perceptual and reality, aspects of the problem. The expression of their motives is dependent on their judgments of the likelihood that it will actually lead to the goals they desire. And their perceptions of the probability payoffs in a given situation are directly related to the reality payoffs afforded by that situation. Effective action cannot be devoted merely to the students' problems as individuals without an attempt to affect the opportunity and social structure they are likely to face in the world after college.

Ultimately, of course, the problems posed by the realities of the job market are beyond the competence of educators to solve. Most of the experimentation currently in process in the participating schools or the suggestions that might arise from this report are primarily concerned with what can be done by the college to better prepare its students to cope with the reality system as it is. Nevertheless, the programs which are developed in educational institutions can at least help the students grasp the significance of the social and economic factors that are tied so closely, in both objective and perceptual terms, to their own aspirations and achievements. How to do this is a complicated matter. The ideas which we have to offer come primarily from discussions with students and faculty in the various schools. But, before presenting some of those ideas, we wanted to clarify the meaning that motivation has in this report and to highlight how important

it is to focus on the situational aspects of motivation in programs that seek "to motivate" students to their fullest development.

The Role of Expectancies and Value-Motive Factors
in These Students' Motivational Dynamics

Throughout this report we have distinguished between value-motive constructs and expectancy constructs. We have been interested in the relative importance of each in these students' motivational dynamics for two reasons. In the first place, they should differ in how modifiable they are by environmental and educational influences. Motives and values are assumed to develop in early childhood and persist as relatively stable, enduring characteristics of the individual. If one is trying to affect the motivation of late adolescents, rather than pre-school children, it is discouraging to view their problems as ones of motive dispositions derived from early socialization. Events that occur in late adolescence or early adulthood, such as specific college experiences, may not be very effective in altering such dispositions, and by that path increasing strength of motivation, if the significance of early experiences is as great as sometimes assumed. On the other hand, expectancy factors - how people judge their chances for success - are considered relatively less generalized and less stable, hence subject to greater modification by specific success and failure experiences, those that occur in later life as well as early childhood. Thus, one of the interests in the role of these factors is a practical one since they may have different implications for the effectiveness of educational programs.

A second reason for being interested in the relative importance of motive-value factors and expectancies about success is both theoretical and practical. We have assumed that expectancy factors might be unusually important in the motivational dynamics of a Negro student population. If so,

it is all the more crucial to direct educational programs at problems of self-confidence and assessments of payoffs that follow from expression of values and motives.

The rationale for the assumption might seem obvious, but it is not always made. When a person's position in the social structure assures him of broad opportunities, his achievement values and motives may well be the predominant determinants of how successful he is or how well he does. But whatever the motives and values a Negro youth brings to the situation, he must, by virtue of his position in the social structure, be more concerned than his white counterparts, particularly those from economically comfortable backgrounds, in assessing his chances for success. Not only must he assess his chances in terms of his own abilities and skills, as white students must do as well, he must also make assessments about the way the opportunity structure will affect his chances for success. He may make faulty assessments. He may overestimate the difficulties, believing them to be so sizable as to kill further striving; he may underestimate or even deny that there are any obstacles to be overcome; or he may make realistic assessments that allow him to maximize the opportunities and cope effectively with the difficulties provided by the social world. But, however he evaluates the social world, the fact that it impinges so directly on his objective probability of success should accentuate the role of expectancy factors beyond the meaning they have for white students.

Support for this assumption is illustrated in data from a recent national survey of the educational experiences and attainments of Negro and white students (Coleman, 1966). One of the student attitudes that was measured and related to student performance has to do with how much they feel they can control what rewards they obtain by their own efforts. It is what we

have called the students' sense of their own personal control. With or without family background characteristics partialled out, this sense of personal control accounted for three times as much variance in the achievement scores of Negroes as of whites at the high school levels, both in the north and the south. In the words of the Coleman report, "it appears that children from advantaged groups assume that the environment will respond if they are able to affect it; children from disadvantaged groups do not make this assumption, but in many cases assume that nothing they will do can affect the environment - it will give benefits or withhold them but not as a consequence of their own action." And to the extent that the Negro students in this study felt they could control whether they succeeded in life, they not only scored higher on a performance test than other Negro students but also higher than the white students with a low sense of personal control.

Our own data are more difficult to interpret as either strongly supporting or discrediting the assumption. Since the study involves only Negro students, it is not possible, as it was in the Coleman study, to show the heightened importance of expectancy factors for Negro youth through comparison of their significance for white youth. What we can do, and have done, is examine the way in which both motive-value factors and expectancy factors relate to aspiration in this population. And, as is usually the case when we look closely at the applicability of an assumption to a real-life situation, nothing is terribly simple. Both sets of factors operate; expectancy factors are more important for certain kinds of choices and among certain subgroups of this student population while for other subgroups motive and value factors predominate. Nowhere is this clearer than in the results regarding the importance of each in accounting for realism of occupational aspirations among low and high ability groups. The motive to avoid failure has greater

significance in the low ability group even though it operates to some extent for the high ability males as well; and, quite conclusively, the achievement-relevant values are important only in the low ability group. In contrast, the expectancy factors - the students' sense of their own personal control and their beliefs about the importance of internal and external factors in controlling other people's successes - operate to differentiate the realistic from the unrealistic aspirants only in the high ability group.

One set of results that does lend general support to the assumption concerns the extent to which the two sets of factors seem to mediate the effects of social class on these young people's aspirations. We know from the analyses in this study that one of the mediators of class is the amount of influence parents from different class backgrounds are able to exert on their sons' and daughters' choices. Another possibility is that class differences in aspiration could also be explained by class differences in motives and values regarding achievement. It is frequently hypothesized that it is because of class differences in early socialization, which are viewed as leading to lower achievement needs and values among lower status youth, that they are also more likely to have reduced aspirations and lower performance. Still another hypothesis stresses the implications of class-related conditions of life that affect perceptions of opportunity so as to reduce expectancies of success among lower status students. It holds that youngsters from lower status families perform less well in school and hold lower aspirations not so much because they do not value achievement or high aspirant roles but because they have low expectancies of actually being able to achieve these goals.

The data in this study lend support to the expectancy hypothesis. We find no evidence for class differences in broad motive and value factors when

we compare students from vastly different backgrounds - those from "poverty" conditions, which means growing up in families not only with incomes of less than \$2,400 a year but also with relatively low education and limited occupational achievement - with those from much more affluent backgrounds. These two extreme groups do not differ, for instance, in the motive to avoid failure or any of the achievement-relevant values that were coded from the students' responses about what they want in their future lives. They do not differ in their reasons for going to college, what might be thought of as the kinds of motives that prompt college attendance. We might have expected stronger security concerns (to get a better job than otherwise possible) and stronger pragmatic-vocational emphases (to think through occupational plans and develop necessary skills) among the poverty group, and, perhaps greater involvement in intellectual (exploring new ideas - the excitement of learning) or ideological-identity concerns among the most comfortable students. But the data do not substantiate these expectations. Where we do find differences is not in these broad dispositions but rather in attitudes and expectancies closely tied to specific situations, particularly those contemporary situations which reflect different reality factors in the life experiences of the poor and nonpoor. For instance, though the importance of finishing college and the desire to go to graduate school do not differentiate the poverty students from the most affluent group, the two groups do differ in their expectancies of being able to reach those goals. Further evidence for the differential importance of situational factors to the various income groups comes from exploring the reasons they give for the doubts they do have about finishing college or going to graduate school or getting into the occupation of their choice. The poverty students are much more likely to mention external reality problems such as lack of

finances, support of other siblings, or other family responsibilities as factors which might reduce their chances of attaining their goals. In contrast, the more comfortable students, though less concerned than the poorer students about these external factors, are more concerned about factors which are indicative of internal lacks. In other words, we find differences between the students from different class backgrounds primarily in their assessments of their chances for success and the extent to which they base these assessments on internal versus external factors. They do not appear to differ in any of the achievement-relevant dispositions which are expected to relate to aspirations and performance. It should not surprise us, therefore, if motive-value factors are less important than expectancies of success as mediators of class differences in aspirations. And this is generally true. The one subgroup from lower status backgrounds for whom value-motive factors are more, not less, important than expectancy factors is the group of lower status males with low ability test scores. With them, it is true that high anxiety about failure and low values placed on achievement are more important than self-confidence about success in accounting for underaspiration. But, among the high ability, lower-status males, quite the opposite is true; expectancy factors rather than value-motive dispositions operate to explain how realistic their aspirations are, just as they do with high ability students from high-status families.

Viewing the results as a whole, we would not want to conclude that values or motives are unimportant. Nevertheless, the results do emphasize the significance of expectancy factors in these students' motivational dynamics. How they assess their chances for success seems to be very important in accounting for all kinds of occupational aspirations, particularly the choice of a nontraditional job, in differentiating realistic from

unrealistic aspirants among the high ability students, and in accounting for differences between students from different class backgrounds.

The Students' Sense of Personal Control

All that has been stressed above is that the students' generalized expectancies - their views about the world and their beliefs about their capacities to control the world - play an important role in their motivation. We have also learned, however, that there are two kinds of generalized expectancies which operate somewhat differently in the motivation of these students: (1) one that concerns the relative importance of external fate versus personal strengths in accounting for their own chances of success, what we have called the students' sense of personal control, and (2) a general ideology about the causes of success and failure for other people, particularly other Negroes.

The sense of personal control appears to be the more important determinant of aspiration. Among the females it relates to both prestige and ability aspirations. Among the males it relates to all kinds of aspiration and it distinguishes the realistic from the unrealistic aspirants in the high ability group. Furthermore, this measure operates as expected on the basis of previous research. The students with the highest sense of personal control, who believe that their internal strengths are more important than the exigencies of fate in accounting for whether they get ahead in life, have the highest aspirations. And, in the group of high ability males, those with the most personal control are also the most realistic about their occupational aspirations. From other studies we also know that this belief in one's capacity to control what happens in life by one's own actions encourages persistent and effective performance. Thus, this sense of personal control seems to be an important type of expectancy. How might it be developed in our work with students in the college environment?

Its Implications for Educational Programs

In thinking about ways to encourage a sense of personal control, it may seem obvious that one way to do this is by telling students they "should have more self-confidence," assuring them "they can do it," or by admonishing them "to try because they are more likely to succeed than they think." Although these verbal exhortations may enhance the students' beliefs in their own capacities, they may have negative consequences as well unless they are tied to the students' actual performance. The students need to know they succeeded because of their own efforts. False self-confidence leaves the student in very poor stead to handle actual failure experiences, either in the college environment or the later post-college world.

Furthermore, these actual success experiences need to occur with enough regularity that the student develops a well internalized belief in himself. We know from the work of Mischel and others (1966) that the impact of success-failure experiences on changes in expectancies is much greater for people who start out with a low than with a high sense of self-confidence. People who have a high sense of personal control reduce their expectancies when they fail but they are not very likely to generalize the meaning of failure in one task to a different kind of task. When they approach a different task, they fall back on their internalized sense that they can succeed rather than their recent failure experience in the other task. In contrast, people who have a low sense of personal control are both influenced more in changing their expectancies by success or failure in a given task; they are also more likely to generalize the meaning of this success or failure to a different kind of task. People who start out with low self-confidence seem to be exceptionally sensitive to success and failure experiences while people with greater and more internalized self-confidence can restrict the impact of

success and failure to the situation in which it occurs. This means that specific expectancies about particular tasks are relatively easy to change and likely to be broadly generalized among people who initially have a low sense of personal control. But, for such people, this also means that heightened expectancies that follow a success experience can be deflated easily by a later failure. Thus, it is crucially important for the student with a low sense of personal control to have success experiences that he attributes to his own skill and abilities and to have them frequently enough that he develops an internalized sense of personal control. What we want is to help him approach tasks with a belief in his own capacity so that he is neither so broadly nor so adversely affected by failure.

These cautions might be summarized:

1. Verbal assurances may be very helpful but they should be tied to actual success experiences in which the student knows his success is connected to his own actions.
2. These actual success experiences that follow from the student's own performance should occur frequently enough for him to internalize a sense of personal control that will protect him against the debilitating effects failure is likely to have when self-confidence is not well ingrained.

Before turning to some of the techniques and programs that might be helpful, there may be someone who is worried about the viability of trying to do this with students who, according to test scores and previous performance, do not seem to have much basis for a genuine and internalized sense of personal control. What do we do about them? First, let us say that even if we restricted these concerns to students with high test scores, at least those above the median of the school, there are students in this group whose

aspirations suffer because of a low sense of personal control. Secondly, let us be cautious about assuming that all students with low test scores and low performance necessarily have low ability. Although, as educators, we frequently have to use test scores as measures of ability for placement and other purposes (and in this study we, too, have used them to classify high and low ability groups), they are most appropriately viewed as "indicators" rather than "the true measures of ability." As indicators, they are subject to all of the motivational forces (motives, expectancies, incentives) that also affect performance and aspirations. Thus, at least some students with low test scores may be poorly motivated, for any of the reasons we have outlined, rather than lacking in ability. This is not always easy to distinguish. Nevertheless, the fact that programs to enhance expectancies should be tied to actual performance means that they should not have the risk of encouraging either the validly or invalidly low test-score students beyond their reach.

What follows are some ideas about educational techniques that might be helpful in enhancing the expectancies of students who have a relatively low sense of personal control. It is true, if the risk-taking model of achievement motivation is correct, that the effects on performance or aspiration of increasing a student's probability of success for a specific achievement task will depend on whether the student has a higher motive to avoid failure or a higher motive to try for success (Atkinson, 1957).¹ The advisability of

¹It argues that with a person who has high positive achievement motives and low probability of success, we might not want to increase the probability beyond an intermediate chance of success since it is at that level that the motive to attempt the task is at a maximum. Increasing the probability of success beyond that level should reduce the total strength of motivation since the motive itself would be lowered. And, it argues that with a person who has high avoidant motives as well as low probability of success, we should obtain positive consequences on performance if we can build the expectancy up to a very high level without the person going through the point where he thinks his chances for success are actually 50-50 instead of very high. It is

considering the positive and negative achievement motives while trying to enhance expectancies should not be ignored. Perhaps the problems, however, are not as great in real-life situations as the theory would predict. Or perhaps the problems introduced by this theory's prediction of an interaction between motive strength and probability of success can be handled by introducing sources of motivation, such as desire for recognition or need for approval or team competition, or task gratification, which are not themselves dependent on the person's probability of success. What follows has to do with possible ways to build up expectancies under the assumption that we can handle the confounding problems this might present for the expression of achievement motives.

Importance of Success Feedback

In experiments concerned with the effects of various situational factors on the performance of Negro college students, Katz (1964 and 1966) has found that telling students they had done very well (high probability feedback) on a previous task, which was ambiguous enough for them not to know how well they had done without being told, has the effect of producing higher performance on subsequent tasks of a similar sort. This effect is somewhat greater under certain conditions than under others but it generally holds so long as the students believe that the feedback they have received is true and that the person giving it is a trustable person. This accentuates what we have already said. If you tell students they have done well, it will have an effect and it is likely to be greater when the students believe that the success does reflect how they actually performed.

in the 50-50 situation that the attempt to avoid the task should be maximally aroused in such a person; that should diminish the positive benefits accruing to a build-up of expectancies. But it may also be possible to introduce other sources of motivation that would counteract the negative effects of increasing the arousal of the need to avoid failure in the 50-50 chance situation.

This highlights the usefulness of giving much more information to students than we may normally give about the tasks on which they have done well. In grading class examinations, for instance, we might want to do more with highlighting the kinds of questions on which the student did perform well - in a sense, capitalize on their actual successes and play down their failures. It may argue for providing more tasks on which more students can do well, particularly in the beginning of a course. It raises possibilities for examination procedures. It may be helpful to start out with easier questions and move to more difficult materials. Many teachers already do this. How many of us have had the experience of being thrown by an impossible first question on an exam and either responding by sticking with it much too long or giving up with respect to the rest of the exam? It might even be helpful to give some examinations in two stages: (1) after giving some time for students to work on relatively easy questions, read out the answers for them to grade themselves so they can see how well they have done, and (2) then proceed to the next section of the exam with material that gets progressively harder.

Whether any of these particular suggestions are feasible, we might at least examine our philosophies in giving examinations. Are we sometimes giving such a hard exam at the beginning of the course that almost all of the students do poorly? Even when this is designed to convince the students that this is a hard course for which they will have to work, it may have the opposite effect - convincing them there is no point in working since this is an impossible situation. Do we use examinations, and other tasks, to reward growth? Are there ways we can do even more of this?

Use of Programmed Materials

Following some of these ideas, there might be value in using some of

the programmed materials that are based on Skinnerian learning principles of operant conditioning. By now there are several courses for college students that have been programmed to break a learning problem into several steps, rewarding the student with having obtained the right answer to each step before he can move onto the next step, thereby moving him successively and successfully through progressive steps of problem-solving. The value of some of these schemes is both in their reduction of the learning task into several steps that have cumulative meaning and in providing a schedule of constant positive reinforcement. The student cannot be rewarded for wrong answers and he has the experience of frequently, indeed, every time he is allowed to move to the next step, being rewarded for right answers.

Even without programmed materials, there is much that could be done following the same principles. During the study we observed a freshman composition course that was offered at one of the colleges on much the same approach. The students were asked to write an initial theme which was analyzed for grammar and logical development of the student's thought. Whatever problems the student had were discussed with him; he was then asked to rewrite the theme to work on just those problems. Eventually he succeeded in writing that particular theme so that he not only received "a good grade" but he learned a writing principle within the context of what he was trying to say in that theme. These teachers were convinced that part of the problem in teaching English composition is that we have students switch from one subject to another so frequently that they are more concerned about the "topic" than about development of style and good grammar. Their technique also has built into it the principle that the student is rewarded for growth and correct performance before being asked to do something different. And it attempts to build the student's self-confidence by helping him see that his grade follows from his improvement and performance.

Distribution of Grades and Honors

Implicit in all of this are some questions about the way in which grades and honors are used "to motivate" students to perform.

In a few of the schools participating in the study the proportion of the students who have A minus or better averages is very small, less than five percent of the student body. These schools also have small proportions of students who say they are "actually trying" for A's or "expect to have" an A average at the end of the year. Of course, it is hard to know what causes what - whether the low grade aspirations and expectations produce low grades or the receipt of low grades dampens aspirations and expectancies. We also know, however, that at one of the schools with high educational, occupational, and grade aspirations, there is something like 50 percent of the students on the Dean's list. It is also a school where the freshman faculty voice the conviction that every student in the class can achieve; indeed, sitting in one of their faculty meetings in which each student's performance in the early part of the freshman year is discussed, one is impressed with the fact that they are more concerned with the failure in their teaching techniques than in the student's potential if a student is not performing well. Yet this is a school whose freshman students' entrance scores are very similar to at least three other participating schools where the grade performances of the students are much lower.

These connections between grade achievements and grade aspirations are inferential. There are some data from the interview materials, however, that lend support to the notion that a narrow distribution of grades and honors may be an ineffective way of motivating students. They corroborate the students' beliefs that very often the potential models in the peer culture who have achieved good grades and should be examples for other students are

actually irrelevant as models for what other students could be. In one of the schools where the interviewing was done, it happened that there was one senior that year who obtained every one of the top six academic honors normally awarded in that school. This does not imply that the student had not earned every one; everyone agreed that his achievements were exceptional. And there is no doubt from the interviews that this student was greatly admired. He received fifteen times as many nominations as the "most admired" student as any other student on the campus. Nevertheless, he is rarely mentioned as the person who actually influenced the students who admire him. Indeed, he is practically never mentioned by any of the interview respondents as the "most influential student" in their lives at college. He fits the picture presented by some of the students as a reason the "good" students do not have more impact on the campus. It may be hard for students to believe that he is relevant as a model for their own lives, that his achievements are obtainable by any but the elite few.

Is it possible, then, that the proportion of high grades and the distribution of honors are important in themselves in defining levels of expectations we have about our students? When many students achieve high grades and the honors are dispersed across many individuals, are we telling students that many of them can and are expected to achieve? Conversely, is it possible, when we give very few high grades and honor the same few individuals for high achievements, that we tell large numbers of the students that we do not expect them to do very well - that only a few should have high probabilities of success in this academic environment?

The point is often made, when grading systems are discussed, that students will no longer value high grades if they are too easily obtained. There is the belief that the incentive attached to obtaining an A is very

much reduced when too many people achieve it. And that is probably true. It is the common assumption that incentive increases the more difficult something is to attain. Nevertheless, when we severely restrict the distribution of high grades or academic honors in order to preserve their incentive value, the overall motivational effect of using grades and honors as inducers of performance may boomerang. They may have high incentive value but still not act as positive inducers of performance because they simultaneously represent how impossible it is to achieve no matter how hard one works. Is it possible that more students would actively pursue academic achievements and actively identify with academically successful students if there were simply more students who do achieve?

If there is any validity in these observations, the grading system might be a concrete way in which we could work on modifying students' expectancies. At least we might reflect on the way grades and honors are used in our own institutions. Are there any ways in which we use them to communicate to students that most of them do not really have "what it takes"? Is there any way in which we might broaden the base of rewards and honors so as to make them potentially relevant to more students? Are there ways in which we now withhold high grades in order to convince students that we are good teachers, that we demand high performance, that the courses we teach are hard instead of easy? All of these may be perfectly good motives but they may also communicate other things to the students as well. Are our concerns about the students' performance on national tests affecting our judgments of their performance in our classes? Are we using grades to show students that we believe that they would not measure up in a different institution or a broader environment? That may be well intentioned; many teachers are genuinely concerned that these students not be too falsely confident about

taking national tests that will count for their futures. They often feel the obligation to warn them, to prepare them for how difficult they are likely to be. But what are the implications of warning students about national standards for their current motivation to cope with learning in their own college environments? How can we balance both the desire to help students have some reality about competition in the wider environment and at the same time encourage their best efforts in the learning process?

Anticipatory Work Experiences

Most of the previous discussion concerns what we are doing or might do in the college environment itself to enhance the students' sense of personal control. There may also be some value in providing actual work experiences, particularly in some of the nontraditional and unfamiliar work settings in the so-called "new opportunity areas," for these students during the college years. They would be anticipatory in the sense of providing practice and experience prior to the time of committing oneself to a "real job." Students already spend most of their summers working; these are not students who can afford to travel or do other unremunerative activities during their vacations. The jobs they obtain may or may not have relevance to their academic and occupational interests. In most cases they probably do not. Some of the schools are discussing the development of cooperative work projects in which their students can obtain work experiences (in various business-industrial firms, government agencies, research organizations, school settings) that are relevant to their academic interests. Two of the schools have already experimented with such programs on a small scale; they primarily involve students majoring in technical fields. There is also one school where a full work-study year has been provided for students who are interested in the social sciences and want experience in "practical" social

work and social action. And, of course, there are many other examples of such work-and-study arrangements in other institutions throughout the country.

These cooperative work experiences, work-study arrangements, are viewed as having numerous positive aspects. They provide the student with the possibility of gaining information about the kinds of jobs that are actually related to his or her academic interests. Too few students have a full picture of the relevant jobs in their academic discipline. They help the student find out whether he really likes the kinds of things he can do with the kind of major he has. They allow him to get a better cognitive grasp of the world of work - to see just what is involved in the work settings to which he is exposed. They provide a way for him to test his own capacities in light of the demands of the job and, in some job settings, in the predominantly white work environment. To the extent that students are worried about competition with whites, are lacking in self-confidence about "making" it in the predominantly white job world or advanced educational institution, this would give them the opportunity to work through these fears before they graduate from college. We may wish that these students were not concerned about these issues, but many of them are. And if unwillingness to leave home or concern about moving into relatively unknown worlds are factors in how the student thinks about his occupational future, the chance to see what it is like to live far from home in places he has never visited may be very helpful.

Without minimizing these different positive consequences, we would like to highlight the importance of actual job experiences in heightening the students' self-confidence, their sense of personal control as they face the reality of the job world after college. Much can be done in our work with

students on the campus but actual job experiences may be one of the most potent forces in helping students believe in their capacities to bring about the goals they want as a function of their own actions.

Support for this is found in a parallel study, also conducted by the Institute for Social Research and also concerned with the relative importance of expectancy and value-motive factors in the motivation of Negro youth. That study, however, involves quite a different group of Negro youth - high school dropouts who took part in a job retraining program (Gurin, 1966). It was interested in the determinants and consequences of both success in the training program itself and, more importantly, success in the post-training job world. Post-program job success is measured by an index of both the length of time the young person had worked and the amount of money he had earned in the year following the training program. Two results are of interest to us. First, it was found that job success bore no relationship to broad value and motive dispositions while it was significantly related to personal efficacy or what we have called personal control.² Secondly, it appears that a high sense of efficacy or personal control is the consequence, not determinant of job success. Since efficacy was measured both before the trainees entered the retraining program and after a year in the post-training world, it was possible to unravel the causal relationships between it and job success. The pre-program measure does not predict to job success while success and the later measure of efficacy are positively related. In other words, the experience of success in an actual job seems to have resulted in heightened personal control in this population of high school dropouts.

²Three of the five items in the personal efficacy scale are also in the five-item personal control measure used in this study of college students.

Of course, it is probably true that personal control will act as a determinant in this college population; but it is also likely to be heightened by actual job success. At least from this other study it seems that job experiences are very helpful in enhancing a sense of personal control among people who previously had relatively low expectations of success and then find themselves successful on the job. They should be helpful with the students who have low self-confidence in this college population as well. Of course, this assumes that such students would meet with some success in their cooperative, work-study experiences. From the history of such programs in other institutions, that is not automatically guaranteed. For students to make good use of the work-study arrangement, it requires careful placement as well as continuous assistance and supervision of the students on work projects by someone in the college. The point is not simply to send them forth; it is to integrate the work experience into the student's academic experience and help him learn what he can do well in the world of work.

Ideologies about the Causes of Success and Failure

The belief system that is of interest to us here concerns the importance students attribute to racial discrimination and to personal inadequacies of other Negroes in explaining why they may not succeed in attaining their goals. It is what we have called the blame attribution scale.

The results using this scale are just the opposite of those generally reported in the studies of internal and external control. In three different situations we have learned that the holding of an external ideology about the causes of success and failure has positive, rather than debilitating, effects - at least when the external factors have to do with discrimination rather than the exigencies of fate. First of all, the results show that students who attribute more importance to discrimination than internal lacks of other Negroes aspire for the most nontraditional jobs or what might be

thought of as "new opportunity" careers. Secondly, among students with high ability, we also find that a focus on discrimination is associated with having realistic rather than unrealistic aspirations. The realistic students, those whose aspirations reflect ability demands that are fairly close to their own histories of performance, stress the importance of discrimination more than either the underaspirants or the overaspirants. Both of these findings seem to illustrate the connection between scores on this blame-attribution measure and a kind of reality orientation about the world. Most of the literature on beliefs in internal and external control has assumed that the external factors are magical factors such as the forces of fate; belief in their importance is viewed as leaving one feeling powerless. Discrimination, however, is not whimsical; it is systematically related to the social structure; it is a reality that these students must assess. Attending to it - understanding its grounding in economic and social factors, seeing how the social system operates - should not imply a feeling of powerlessness. Instead, it should, and apparently does, result in an enhanced capacity to handle the world that comes from being more reality oriented about both the obstacles and opportunities for a Negro in this society.

In addition to a reality orientation about the world, another factor that seems to operate in explaining why an external orientation may be better has to do with whether any self-blame or a negative self-image as a Negro is implied in holding an internal rather than an external ideology. This is illustrated in results involving the students who, themselves, are lacking in a strong sense of personal control. It is damaging for the expression of aspiration, not just aspiration for nontraditional jobs but all kinds of aspirations, for students with a low sense of personal control to

believe that Negroes ought to be able to exercise internal control despite the obstacles presented by discrimination. Although they already have lower occupational aspirations than those students with a higher sense of personal control, their aspirations are even lower if they have incorporated a strong ideology that hard work, ability, and proper training are the most important determinants of whether people get ahead in life. To believe in the Protestant ethic, even to the point of more often attributing failure among Negroes to the lack of these virtues than to external constraints of discrimination, may well result in self-blame for students who lack the personal strengths to apply the ethic in their own lives. If so, these additional factors of self-blame and possibly negative identities as Negroes should function to further depress the aspirations of students who already have a low sense of personal control about their own lives.

Implications for Educational Programs

These results point to the fact that, although it is clearly better for students to believe in their own capacities to control what happens in their own lives, it is apparently better for them to focus on discrimination in explaining why other Negroes may have difficulties in attaining their goals. Suppose we want to educate students toward realistic beliefs about the way the social system operates. How would we proceed? How can we help students understand the extent to which both obstacles and opportunities are conditioned by the economic and social structure? How can we turn these learnings into an increased sense of personal control rather than hopelessness in the face of constraints? How important is it, even for the sake of these students' own personal effectiveness, let alone change in the social and economic system, to encourage them to deal with these factors both through their own individual efforts and personal finesse when they impinge

on their own lives, and through collective efforts that are directed at reducing obstacles and maximizing opportunities for other Negroes as well?

The Role of the Teacher

Two types of questions were frequently raised in our discussion of these data with faculty in some of the schools. Do we want to focus so much on race in our teaching and informal contacts with students? Even if that is advisable, how do we do it without discouraging students from believing that they, as Negroes, can achieve if they work hard, obtain the proper training, and keep their goals before them? Both of these are important and complicated questions.

One aspect about the advisability of focusing on the role of racial discrimination arises because some teachers' own life-experiences have shown it to be unimportant for them. If analysis of social and economic forces is not within their area of professional interest or competence and their own life experience leads to the conviction that race does not matter, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see any wisdom in dealing with these matters in their contacts with students. Some teachers express the conviction, even if discrimination has operated in their own lives, that it is better to treat themselves in their roles with students simply as "human beings" and to stress the human, not racial dimensions, of the students' own futures. There is considerable feeling that race should not matter even if it does. To represent the ideal of a human society where it does not play a role is one approach that some teachers feel they should take with the students. Still others question how much, if any, sociological and economic material should be introduced into curricula that have nothing to do with the social sciences simply because the students happen to be Negro. And at least some teachers are not sure there is any other way to approach these

matters except by introducing what they think of as sociological material. Still another concern is reflected by teachers who see these issues as much beyond their professional competence to cover either in their formal or informal relationships with students. Along with these sentiments, however, are just as many which represent the point of view that somehow or other the topic of discrimination should play a deliberate role in educational programs. Some teachers feel that the interplay of social and economic forces will affect these students' lives in a way they rarely do with white graduates; to focus on it, in a way that enhances the students' possibilities of utilizing new opportunities, has very high priority to numerous teachers in these schools. And even when there is concern that discussion of sociological and economic issues is beyond their own professional competence, some teachers express the feeling that they both want to and can deal with the "self-image" aspects of the problem.

The other question is more how to do it? Many teachers, even when responsive to dealing with these issues, are troubled about talking about discrimination because of the fear that they will create hopelessness rather than effectiveness among the students. As one teacher put it: "I have always considered my job to inspire students to strive for their goals, to tell them and show them by models here at the school that discrimination does not stand in the way of a person with high goals. I haven't felt there was anything I could do about discrimination but I could give them a good education and inspire them to work hard and never give up their goals just because they are Negroes." Numerous teachers also recall incidents, either in their own lives or the lives of students they have known, where high school teachers, particularly in predominantly white schools, have focused on discrimination as if it were an impossible barrier to overcome, advising students to go into fields much beneath their capabilities "because of the

problem of discrimination." This kind of "counseling" has occurred all too frequently and, for many years, was not even questioned. The reaction to it, keeping the whole question of race out of occupational counseling, may present problems as well.

These discussions with teachers vividly illustrate the difficulty of doing two things with students: helping them enhance their own sense of effectiveness and control so that they believe they can achieve their own goals while, at the same time, helping them understand how the social system does operate to condition both opportunities and restrictions on Negroes in this society. If we can do both, the data from this study suggest that several positive effects should follow: the students should hold "high" aspirations that are, nevertheless, realistic in light of their own abilities and talents; they should be particularly sensitive to "new" opportunities, jobs that are nontraditional for Negroes; they should be better able to locate the "causes" of problems they may encounter without either undue self-blame or inability to accept any responsibility for the problem when it is warranted; they should be better prepared to change the system if they are disposed to social action.

Student Participation in Social and Educational Change

One possible avenue through which students may be able to gain a better understanding of the way social systems operate and, at the same time, learn that it is possible to affect these larger systems through their own actions is provided by participation in social action groups. At the time of this study there did exist a number of social action groups on some of these campuses: civil rights groups working to change social and political aspects of the surrounding communities through voter registration campaigns and a variety of direct action and educational techniques; tutorial groups working

to supplement the educational programs available to elementary school children in surrounding communities; and campus action groups working to change particular regulations or affect the administrative structure of the college to allow for greater student participation in policy discussion and decision-making.

Many educators are leery of student involvement in these kinds of activities. One basis for their caution or disapproval lies in their belief that students who become attracted to social action of one sort or another are often lost to serious academic commitment, either because their action commitments are simply too time consuming or they demand such a complete psychic identification that students find it difficult to meet academic demands as well. There is also some uneasiness about where the assertion of "student power" will lead. Many people have commented that it was the successful student demonstrations in southern communities that provided the model for many of the campus-based protests on northern campuses in recent years. Many of the leaders of the Berkeley protest group had served in the ranks of the civil rights corps in the summer of 1963. Similarly, these campuses in the south have also felt the impact as students have turned from work off campus to campus issues. The impact comes from students learning new techniques of dealing with adult authority or what they often call the "power structure." The impact is not always welcomed because it raises questions that affect the day-to-day operation of the college. Nevertheless, involvement in these kinds of issues seems to be a facet of student life that is increasingly important on almost all campuses today.

Since we are likely to see increasing student demands for inclusion in decisions affecting their lives on the campus and continued desire, at least among some students, for expression of their concerns about domestic and

international problems, are there some ways in which these interests can be utilized for positive educational experiences? First of all, is there any evidence that there are positive motivational effects from these kinds of student experiences?

The school where this can be best explored is one where over half of the students were involved in several civil rights demonstrations during the academic year in which the study was conducted. Not all of them were actively engaged in the campus organization with the responsibility for directing the "movement"; but large enough numbers were touched to explore what the meaning of involvement may have been. This is best done with the freshman students who were measured before they had had anything to do with the campus civil rights action and again at the end of the year after a large number of them had become active participants.

One educational benefit of participation is seen in the fact that it not only affected the students' attitudes toward civil rights questions but also provoked greater questioning of broad academic freedom issues. The most active participants experienced greater attitude change than did the nonparticipants about issues of free speech and openness of the college environment to dissident and unpopular points of view. To the extent that we want students to be intellectually curious, to desire the opportunity to hear and think about all, including unpopular, points of view, then we should welcome this effect that civil rights participation seems to have had with the freshmen on this campus.

In addition, there is also evidence that the freshman students' sense of personal control and ideologies about success and failure were affected by how involved they were in the civil rights activities that occurred during the freshman year. What is particularly interesting is that these

psychological characteristics, measured at the beginning of the year, do not predict which freshmen subsequently became involved in civil rights. Not even the most extreme groups, those who did not participate at all and those who took part in all activities, differed at the beginning of the year in their sense of personal control or their beliefs about the relative importance of discrimination and personal inadequacies in explaining why other Negroes may not succeed. But the fact of participation did mean something. The most actively involved students did have a greater sense of personal control and a stronger belief in the importance of discrimination when these characteristics were measured again at the end of the freshman year. This means at the one school where large numbers of students were drawn into civil rights action, that participation did produce positive benefits of just the sort we find needed for development of realistic as well as non-traditional aspirations.

These data are given just to illustrate the point that there may be some positive benefits to student action experiences. There may also be some negative implications from the point of view of the student's commitment to academic matters during the course of his involvement in other activities or from an administrator's point of view about appropriate authority relationships. Nevertheless, many of these kinds of experiences may be turned to positive educational experiences when there is an active desire to do so. Civil rights activities can be the focus of learning about the way the social system conditions the lives of Americans around the issue of race; they can be used as experiences to help students not only see how discrimination operates but how it can be modified as well. Tutorial projects in which students teach and work with younger students can have many of the positive benefits already discussed in connection with work-and-study projects. Involvement of students in policy discussion within the college could be used

as a field experience in organizational sociology through which the students could learn how organizations function. What often happens now is that students view the administration as the enemy to be attacked. It is significant, however, that schools with a greater history of involving students in administratively appointed committees also have a larger proportion of the students endorsing the idea that regulations should be set by "the administration and students working together" rather than either "the administration alone" or "the students alone." When legitimacy is given to students' ideas by including them, at least in discussion if not decision-making roles, the students seem to respond with a desire to work "with," "not against" the administration. Thus, when the students and adults in the environment are both positive about working together, it may be possible to use their cooperative relationship as a way to help students better understand both the complexity of organizations and the most effective modes of bringing about organizational change.

Sex and Class Constraints

The implications of the results on sex differences and social class factors depend very much on the values we have about the occupations young people should be encouraged to enter. We may feel fairly comfortable about drawing implications from the results that have to do with the constraints on the aspirations of young people growing up in lower status homes. We can easily agree that a young person should not be constrained by his background from enjoying the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards that come with full expression of his talents. Yet the results, especially for the male students, indicate that growing up in a lower income home or a home where the parents have little education does condition aspirations; it decreases the likelihood that the male students will aspire for prestigious jobs or ones that provide opportunity for expression of great ability. It is fairly easy to

agree that one of the goals of higher education is to alter these kinds of constraints. And apparently this does happen as a function of the college experience; the data indicate that none of these particular class constraints still operate, in the population as a whole, by the time the students are seniors. Nevertheless, these lower status constraints are not automatically diminished as a function of the college experience. They persist in certain institutions, particularly those where a large proportion of the student body comes from these lower status backgrounds.

The implications to be drawn from the results about constraining influences of high status backgrounds are subject to greater disagreement. The results show that only certain kinds of aspirations are heightened by growing up in affluent, highly educated, intact homes; other kinds of aspirations are depressed both as a direct effect of class experience and indirectly through the influence exerted by high status parents. With both sexes, the high status effect seems to be the encouragement of conventional areas of achievement. With males, it is the encouragement of choices that are in fields in which Negroes have conventionally achieved - choices that are prestigious and demanding of ability but specifically traditional instead of nontraditional for Negroes. With the girls, it is the encouragement of choices that are fairly conventional for females - occupations that are desirable to other girls, over-represented by females on a national basis, but not demanding of ability in the eyes of either the male or female students. What we conclude about these results depends on what our values are about encouraging young men to go into nontraditional jobs; it depends on how we feel about encouraging young women to consider occupations that are not conventional for females in this society.

Many positions regarding the occupational directions students should be encouraged to take can be heard in all of the participating institutions.

This is particularly true of value positions about encouraging nontraditional occupational choices. This takes us back to the debate regarding the role of the predominantly Negro college with which we began this report. Differences in value perspectives about the educational and occupational directions Negro graduates should be taking are important aspects of this debate. These results about class constraints on aspirations must be discussed in light of these value perspectives. On the other hand, we feel, regardless of our own or other people's values on some of these issues, that the results from this study can and should be used to help students become more aware of the way their considerations and choices are constrained by their social backgrounds. It is not necessary to believe that all students should be encouraged to look toward nontraditional jobs for Negroes or unconventional roles for women in order to take the position that they should know what factors may stand in the way of making such choices.

Work with Students from High Status Backgrounds

The negative impact of high status backgrounds on nontraditional choices among the males is likely to be a potential problem for students in all institutions, even at the senior level. Despite the general tendency for the college experience to vitiate the effects of class background, the constraining effect of parental influence on nontraditional choices holds among seniors as well as among freshmen. Furthermore, if the institution aims to encourage high aspirations regardless of the sex of the student, certain institutions may need special counseling to help their female students from high status backgrounds deal with class-linked pressures against making such choices. Although the high status constraints on female aspirations are operative primarily at the freshman level when we look at the total population, they persist even at the senior level in certain institutions. And in institutions where they do not persist, it is

generally because most of the girls have shifted toward more conventional aspirations.

The Role of the Teacher

The data presented in the institutional chapter are clearest about the role of high-faculty student contact in encouraging unconventional choices among both the males and females. It is not only that freshmen in schools where there is high faculty-student contact have more unconventional aspirations at the end of the freshman year, after controlling for their initial aspirations, it is also that there is a direct relationship between the amount of contact students have had with their teachers and aspiring for more unconventional aspirations at the end of the freshman year. In other words, it is not simply the general atmosphere in schools with high faculty-student interaction, it is that actual contact with the faculty counts.

This probably means that much of what follows in the discussion of counseling with students from high-status backgrounds is occurring between faculty and students when the school fosters a great deal of interaction. We do not mean to imply that counseling occurs in a counseling office.

Counseling

In counseling students from such backgrounds about their occupational choices, we may want to focus on the extent to which their choices are guided by what they think is "expected" of them, either by their parents or "their position in life." Have they considered choices that might fit with their interests but which are not in conventional areas of achievement for Negroes or typically female sectors of the labor market? If not, how do they view these possibilities? What are their negatives and their positives? It is possible, as they begin discussing these issues, that both their conceptions of "appropriate" behavior and their fears of deviating (parental disapproval,

loss of status in the eyes of the community, rejection by males who want a submissive wife, increasing one's chances of not getting married, etc) may open up for exploration. Furthermore, it is not just with students who are unaware of some of the possible background constraints that we may want to approach these issues in counseling. Some students will come to us already thinking about "off-beat" choices, fully aware that they are facing parental or other pressures to stick to more conventional choices. Such students may experience considerable relief to know that their situation is not unique, that other students may have similar influences from their backgrounds. It is just that some may react to them as pressures and others not. We may also have a role with troubled parents who are perhaps stressing certain directions for their youngsters out of either too little or misinformation about the student's "own" choice. None of these issues are new to counselors or unique to counseling in a predominantly Negro college. But they may be more important simply because the opportunity structure for Negro graduates has been so narrow for so long. Beyond the concerns of any parent, these parents may be particularly reluctant for their sons and daughters to take the "risks" of trying something that has just opened up to Negroes. They, like the students, face the credibility dilemma. Are these opportunities real? Do they hold as much promise as the careers in which they know Negroes have achieved in the past? It is also understandable that some parents may want their daughters to "reap the benefits" of middle-class status by either not working at all or having a minimum of work commitment. Although large numbers of the high status mothers are working, it is not at all clear that they are doing so for self-gratification rather than strictly economic reasons - adding income that may be necessary for the family's economic and social position. There is also the factor of reacting to the history of the

Negro matriarchy. Both parents may strongly stress the undesirability of a girl being too aggressive or involved in the world outside the home out of reaction to the negative effects, both the effects on the esteem of the Negro male and the stability of family relations, that are felt to be tied to the history of the matriarchy. To the extent that these factors operate, these high status parents may not only share the cultural norm that a woman's career should be secondary to her homemaking role but actually prefer that the girl find a marriage that makes it possible for her not to work at all. To urge strong personal involvement in the issue of an occupation, particularly one that is demanding, difficult and unconventional for a woman, may be even further from the hopes of some Negro parents than the hopes of white parents for their daughters' futures.

Work with Students from Lower Status Backgrounds

Distinction between "Low" and "High" Ability Students

We know from the results examining realism of occupational aspirations that what we might want to do with lower status students also depends very much on their ability levels. It is particularly the lower-status, low-ability males who have been most adversely affected by their backgrounds. The high ability students from such backgrounds act like other high ability students from higher status backgrounds.

Thus, when we talk about the problem of depression of aspiration for students from lower-status backgrounds, we probably mean primarily those who also have relatively low test scores. They are likely to be underaspirant, choosing occupations that are even lower than their test scores and histories of performance indicate they should. They also seem to lack some of the achievement-relevant values that might be helpful in promoting higher aspirations. They do not value as much as other students the kinds of

accomplishments that others would recognize as outstanding while they have much stronger concerns about finding a niche in the world that assures them of economic and family security. They have lacked high aspirant models in their backgrounds and their parents are less likely to have played an active role in their occupational decision-making.

The Role of Student and Faculty Models

It is just this group who seems to need what the students themselves talk of as "models." We do not mean to imply that models are unimportant with other students but the need may be particularly great among these students. Let us be cautious, however, about concluding that the only role of a model is to stimulate desire and achievement values among these students. That does seem to be needed in this subgroup of the students. Nevertheless, even when this is not important for particular students, a model may have a crucial function in making the possibility of success viable - to represent the fact that it is possible to succeed from lower status backgrounds.

This would argue that the model ought to be someone who is maximally similar in background to the student's own background, someone who can indicate to the student that he is like him. Yet, we also know that it is in schools where the preponderance of the student body comes from lower status backgrounds that class effects on aspiration continue through the senior year in college. It is as though the lack of middle-class students has minimized the possibility that students in these schools could "model after" the aspirations of students from higher status backgrounds. Perhaps it is important for lower-status students to have both the opportunity to learn about many different kinds of aspirations from a more heterogeneous student population and to have personal contact with an adult, a teacher or counselor, who is maximally relevant to him by symbolizing success from a similar background.

Exposure - Job Experiences

Equally relevant to both groups of students who have different kinds of class constraints on their aspirations is the opportunity to learn about jobs they might be interested in through actual job experiences. Talking with students or providing formal counseling for them may be very helpful, particularly when they are already thinking about some of these issues. Nevertheless, actual exposure to other possibilities may be crucial for students who have restricted their choices to some conception of appropriate behavior for a "middle-class" person but are not closed to new ideas. And we know that lack of exposure to high aspirant jobs is a problem for many of the lower status students. This is where actual job experiences and observation of unfamiliar job settings through work-study arrangements might be especially useful. It is not that job information itself is unimportant, but students who have relatively restricted ideas about what is appropriate or possible may respond more openly to actual experiences, particularly those that do not commit them to a final decision, than to either verbal or written information.

Informational Needs and the Credibility Problem

The significance of information in the students' decision-making about their occupational choices is highlighted by the data indicating that both the underaspirants and overaspirants feel they have had greater difficulty than the realistic aspirants in obtaining job information. This does not mean that the realistic aspirants are necessarily receiving better information from anyone in the college environment. Their realism may have nothing to do with counseling or the availability of job information on the campus. Nevertheless, these data do point to an unmet need for better information among students whose current choices represent demands that are either above

or below their abilities and talents. Furthermore, to listen to the students talk in the meetings where the research results were discussed adds to the perception that many of the students feel they could benefit from greater information about occupational opportunities. They also have ideas about the kind of information and counseling they think they need.

Information and Counseling on the Campus

The students admit that information is increasingly available to them. They comment that more announcements can be seen on bulletin boards than was the case even a few years before. They know that many more recruiters have come to their campuses in recent years. It is also true that career conferences, where job recruiters and graduate school representatives are available to talk with students, are now held at least once a year at many of the schools. At some schools the faculty in particular departments have held meetings to discuss opportunities that are especially relevant for the majors of those departments. The students applaud these efforts. When they talk about the informational and counseling problem, they seem to be saying that an even more direct and aggressive approach is needed. It also needs to reach more students, not as a mass, but in individual or small group settings.

Underlying this is their recognition that a credibility problem exists on most of the campuses. It reflects both a trust problem - believing what is said - and an expectancy problem - believing that what is said is relevant to them. The students say that many of their peers are cynical about these new recruiters; they question whether they mean what they say. Some also believe that only the students who are "hand-picked" by the administration stand a chance for these opportunities anyway. And they say that many students look at the announcements on the bulletin boards with the

conviction that they are directed at someone else, or they do not look at all. Yet the students deny that there is lack of interest in these matters. From our discussions with students, we would agree. Instead, they feel that too many students have come to doubt the credibility and personal relevance of much of what is being done to help them in the job and educational opportunity area. This means that it is the most assertive and self-confident students who respond to general meetings or announcements placed on bulletin boards or visits by recruiters. Others may need much more personal involvement, particularly from faculty members or persons they already know, respect, and trust. The students say this is part of the reason that the most effective counseling and source of information is currently found in interested teachers rather than in official counseling personnel or these general programs directed at informing large numbers of students at the same time.

The students stress the importance of faculty for another reason as well. Numerous times in the student meetings the assertion was made that a central counseling agency cannot provide adequate occupational information and assistance because it is impossible for a general counselor to have broad enough expertise to guide students majoring in many different kinds of specializations. They believe that it is the faculty who are most likely to know about opportunities in their own fields. Although they realize that the faculty may not have as much training in counseling techniques, they value their greater knowledge and expertise about the occupational diversity that may be found in a specific content area.

It is also true that many students think of their academic and occupational needs in an interrelated manner. They talk about academic counseling in terms broader than curriculum advice at the time of registration or discussion of problems attendant to academic failure. They think of where they

are going academically and occupationally as interrelated questions and would like to see them treated in an integrated manner.

For these reasons there seems to be considerable merit in a counseling plan that is being discussed by both faculty-administrative people and students at one of the colleges. It provides for incorporating the academic and occupational counseling into the advisory system of the various departments and divisions. One idea is to hire a person to work within each department who has both counseling training and a major in that general area. Another is to extend the released time of all faculty members for this kind of counseling responsibility in such a way that they both have the time and are expected to use it in this manner. Still another is to use fewer faculty who would be released from class teaching for much larger amounts of time, perhaps even full time, on either a permanent or rotating basis. All of these suggestions would be costly, much beyond most of these schools' current financial resources. At the school where it is being discussed, it is thought of as something that would require outside support.

Off-Campus Experiences

Off-campus experiences in cooperative, work-study programs have been suggested as possibly having value for a number of the students' needs. Still another may be in the area of informational needs and around the problem of credibility. Seeing for themselves should be a telling way of gaining information and learning what to believe about these new opportunities. This is not to say that campus-based programs are unimportant, but that off-campus experiences may be invaluable supplements to the counseling provided on the campus.

One of the reasons why personal experiences should have particular meaning for these students derives from the fact that most of these students have

had limited social experiences outside the south. This means they probably have limited information for making realistic assessments about what to believe about the northern job and educational worlds. The data from the occupational evaluation substudy show this very clearly. When these students were asked to judge the social difficulty of occupations in the north and in the south, they consistently think of the north as the place of greater opportunity. This is true even of their conceptions of teaching opportunities despite the historically greater opportunities for Negroes in the south. It has been easier in the past for Negro teachers to find jobs in the south and their opportunities for advancement have also been greater there. On the average, then, these students need much fuller information about the northern job world not only to give reality to their expectations of the north but to give greater reality to the opportunity structure of the south as well. Now they evaluate the south too much as a negative contrast from an idealized picture of the north. There will be many, or at least increasing, opportunities in both locales but these students need a more differentiated picture of what they are and where to find them to maximize their promise. While information can be given to these students about the labor markets in various regions of the country, the simple fact of leaving the south should help many develop more differentiated views about the question of opportunity. Personal experience is undoubtedly always useful as a source of information but particularly so when the young person's prior experiences have been relatively restricted to one geographical setting.

Other data which accentuate the usefulness of personal experiences are those showing that certain occupations, particularly in the business sector of the economy, are viewed by these students as fairly difficult for Negroes to obtain but also not very prestigious or desirable to try for anyway. They

are examples of what the history of exclusion has done to the way these students evaluate the attractiveness of occupations that have been out of the life experience of Negroes in this country. Opportunities in business may be described by recruiters coming to these campuses. The students may even accept the credulity of the recruiter's message. But very few students are already thinking about these possibilities; furthermore, when they are asked to reflect on how attractive they would be, large numbers of students see them as much less desirable than the more salient occupations in which Negroes have achieved in the past. So it is not only that they have to learn what the opportunities are; they may also need personal experiences in some of these job settings to even be interested or attracted to them.

It is not only business companies, however, that might consider summer work projects or cooperative work-study programs with some of these colleges. They would be useful in many different settings. In this connection, we would urge that work experiences in research organizations connected with universities with graduate schools may be a way to provide information, and lend credulity, about graduate school opportunities as well as future careers. There is precedent for this in the work-study programs currently in existence at some of the small undergraduate schools in the country. Many have established placements in research institutes or other university work settings. They simultaneously provide the undergraduate from a small college the chance to see what graduate education in a large university is like and to develop a fuller conception of the kinds of work that may follow from his academic interests.

Task Gratification as a Source of Motivation

By focusing in this report on the students' future goals and by highlighting the importance of expectancies about being able to reach those goals

in their motivational dynamics, we may have left the impression that the only effective sources of motivation are instrumental ones. By instrumental we mean rewards or sources of gratification that come from performing an act that leads to something desired. We have discussed several ways in which grades, honors, testing procedures, programmed materials, anticipatory work experiences, relationships with teachers, counseling, and participation in social action may help students believe that they can master the environment and that they can achieve their goals by their own actions. In this the emphasis is placed on instrumental gratifications from activities in the present. We may have underplayed another source of motivation that comes from present activities. It is what might be called intrinsic task satisfaction or identification with the task or activity itself rather than gratification from the activity's instrumental connection to something else that is desired by the person (Katz and Kahn, 1966).

Sometimes a student may approach an academic task with instrumental motivation and develop identification with the task itself. He may begin a term paper or a set of readings because it leads to a grade in the course which leads to graduate school admission which leads to a desired job. Of course, the time perspective on the instrumental connections between the present task and future goal may not be this long-term or this rationally depicted by the student; but his original orientation may be predominantly instrumental. If the task itself is interesting, however, he may find intrinsic as well as instrumental satisfaction. In fact, the intrinsic aspects of the task may come to be the only conscious sources of motivation so that he no longer thinks the "grade matters at all."

What might be the consequences of this type of motivation? In analyzing sources of worker motivation in large-scale organizations, this type of

motivation seems to be associated with decreases in absenteeism, high productivity, and worker satisfaction or morale. We would expect to find similar consequences for students in educational settings. When they find themselves inherently intrigued with academic assignments, they probably will do more than is minimally required in a course, find heightened satisfaction in their courses, and go voluntarily to classes even when attendance is not required. Thus, we would not want to underestimate the importance of the content of a course in emphasizing the significance of how materials are programmed and examinations or grades are used to encourage a sense of self-confidence in the students.

Beyond the fact that there may be these immediate consequences, intrinsic sources of motivation may also be helpful for a problem many students express about their futures as well. The self-confidence problem is not the only issue. Many students are also not sure what they like to do. They need to find out both what it is they like and, among the activities they inherently enjoy, what it is they can do well. In fact, an emphasis on task satisfaction may be even more important because of the self-confidence problem. We would not want, in counseling or teaching techniques, to leave students with the impression that "making it," "being successful," "learning that they can accomplish things by their own actions" are the only issues in their lives even if they are concerned about such matters. Self-confidence should be attached to goals with inherent attractions for them.

The heightened need to introduce issues of personal taste and interests because of the problem of self-confidence was repeatedly illustrated in talking with students about the research results which often led to discussion of their own plans. In this connection, for instance, one young man expressed how concerned he was about whether he would be admitted to a particular

graduate program in sociology to which he had applied. There was a possibility, from letters he had received, that he might not be accepted or might be given only conditional acceptance. His immediate concern was where he could be assured of admission, how to maximize his chances to succeed in getting into graduate school. Without minimizing the meaning of the expectancy issue, it was also apparent that this young man was giving very little thought to the kind of sociology program he might like. Indeed, the fact that sociology departments might differ in various substantive ways, such as their relative emphasis on social organization theory versus empirically and practically oriented content such as criminology or race relations, was new information to this student. The particular department to which he had applied and feared rejection is one that is highly theoretical in orientation. As he began thinking about the nature of his interests in sociology, he also began wondering if that orientation was what he wanted. Now it is true that undergraduate students cannot know conclusively what it is they are looking for in a graduate program or what specializations within a general academic discipline they like more than others. Something must be left for exploration at the graduate level. Nevertheless, a focus on exploring what is available in light of their interests, providing experiences that allow them to sample and taste a variety of content, and encouraging them to think about intrinsic satisfactions should provide a helpful antidote to an exclusive concern about probabilities for success.

To arouse task satisfaction the task or content of the activity must provide sufficient variety, sufficient complexity, sufficient challenge and sufficient exercise of skill to engage the abilities and latent interests of the student. Much of the innovation and experimentation in curriculum development that we observed during the study seems designed to promote these

qualities in course content. The many examples of exciting courses and students' responses to them give testimony to the importance of this kind of motivation. And it is not just in courses that task satisfaction can be aroused. Much of the value in work-study experiences or participation in summer institutes in graduate school settings can stem from the opportunity to engage in new activities whose content is arousing and gratifying. It is not just that these experiences can enhance the students' sense of personal control; it is also that they can help students learn what they like. Similarly, experiences in social and educational action can have intrinsic satisfactions. And the relationship that exists between diversity of student activities and heightened aspirations among the students must have something to do with task satisfaction that is provided when there are many different kinds of activities available to students with many different kinds of interests.

Much can be done, and is being done, by these schools to provide a stimulating environment in which intrinsic sources of motivation are among the primary means of motivating performance and aspiration among the students. The import of these efforts should not go unnoticed in our somewhat greater emphasis on instrumental sources of motivation.

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